CONSIDERATIONS
UPON THE LIVES
OF
ALCIBIADES
AND
CORIALANUS.

By Marques *Virgilio Malvezzi*,

One of the Supreme Councell of Warre, to His Catholick MAJESTIE.

Dedicated to the King, his Master.

Englished by
ROBERT GENTILIS, Gent.

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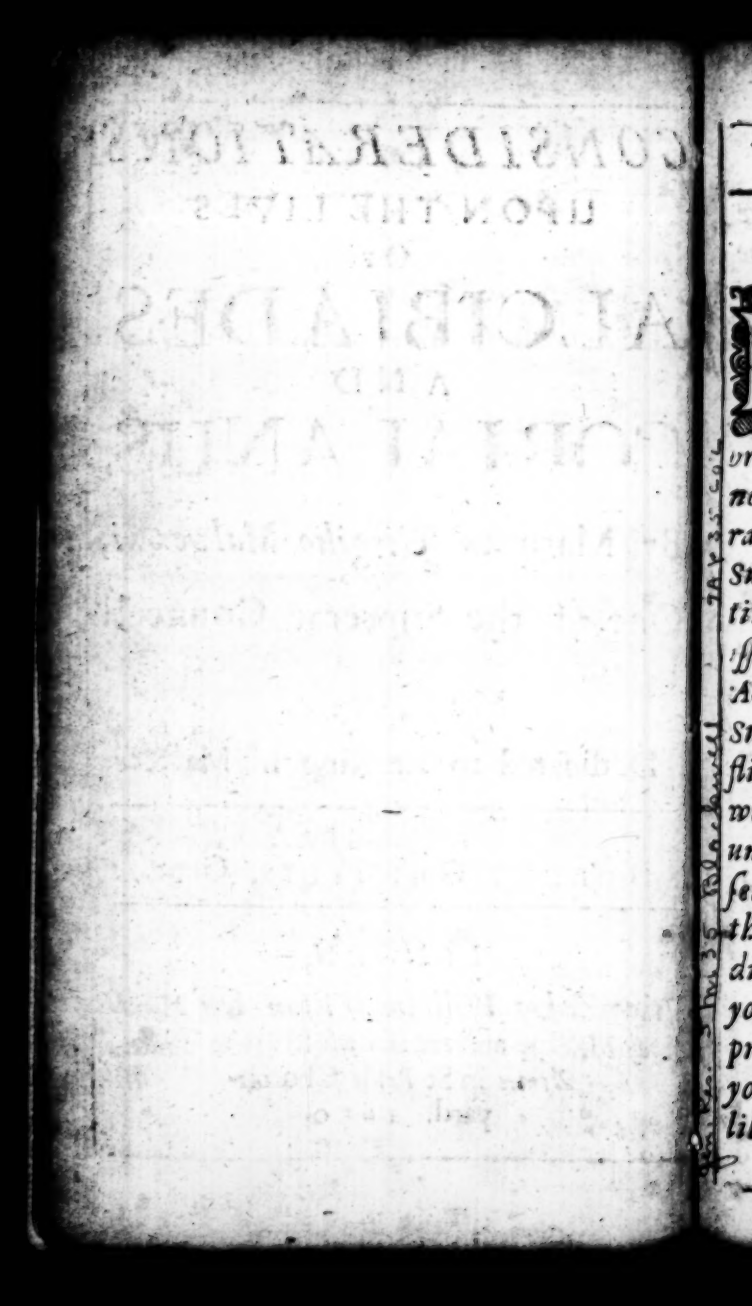

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SIR,

MY pen having soared in the sublime Sphere of your glories, stoopes now and pearches upon these branches withered thorow antiquity: not to abide here, but to rest, and raise my flight againe towards the Sun; on which fixing mine eyes continually I shew my selfe to be the true issue of mine ancestors: The sight is Aquiline, because it lookes upon the Sun; the quill is like it because it flies with the Eagle. Of it selfe it would stay among hedge, and briers; under your great wings it raiseth it selfe up towards heaven. I dedicate these rests and reposes to whom I dedicated my travailes. I owe all to your Majesty acknowledging all to proceed, both from the greatnesse of your Magnanimious breast, and the liberality of your Royall hand, my

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reſt, my motion, my vocations, mine imployments. The booke is little; the gift nothing, but the little makes the great to ſhine, and the nothing is the onely baſis of one of the Creators greateſt workes. I beſeech your Majeſty to accept of it, and in true imitation of Omnipotencie, whilſt with a ſtrong hand you abate the bold attempts of great ones, diſdaine not with a favorable looke to raiſe the humility of little ones: God preſerve your Majeſty for the good of Chriſtendome.

Marques Uirgilio Malvezzi.

TO THE
TWO ILLUSTRIOUS,
and Excellent Ladies
Anne and *Arabella*
Wentworths;
Daughters to that Heroick and Noble THOMAS Earle of *Strafford.*

IT had not beene a queſtion in Morall Philoſophie whether *Heroich vertue may be in women*, had you (moſt vertuous Siſters) lived in that age. For as in the dayes of that ever renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, a Scholler merrily arguing upon that theme, made this Syllogiſme.

Regina Elizabetha est mulier,
Sed virtus heroica est in Regina Elizabetha,
Ergo virtus heroica potest esse in muliere.

The major needed no proofe, and the minor hee bid the respondent denie if hee durst; so now may I make the same argument:

You two most excellent Ladies are women
But in each of you are Heroick vertues. Erg. &c.

The major is manifest, the minor none that knowes you can denie. Nature is predominant in births: and great inclinations to vice or vertue come into the world with children from their parents dispositions: How can the issue then of such ancestors bee otherwise then endowed with admirable qualities? Look on all sides of your Genealogie in the direct, and collaterall lines, both of Consanguinity and affinitie we see refined and eminent spirits. Doe not great *Strafford's* excellencies survive his fate, and do they

they not daily revive in your most honorable brother. Was not your Right Noble Mother a rare patterne of vertue. And what Encomium shall I find worthie of that boundlesse Ocean of eminently qualified Nobilitie the Countess Dowager of *Clare* your most honoured Grandmother, truly learned her selfe, and a Patroneſſe of Learning, A Modell of Oeconomie to all Ladies of this age (*absit dicto invidia*) and whose piety makes her already in her contemplations, a cittizen of heaven. Your right honorable Vncle the Earle of *Clare*; his pious and vertuous sister the Lady *Elinor* your Aunt. Your most honorable cosen the Lady *Clinton*, whose nature, vertues, and matron-like wisedome in her youthfull age deserves admiration. I will not to your selves relate your owne, for

coram laudare vituperare est: and I feare lest those who know you not, being not able to conceive nature could produce such perfectly mature fruits upon such tender stemms, should falsely taxe me with flattery; I will therefore conclude, with humbly beseeching you to accept of this my small gift, and suffer my weake translation to see light under your Patronage. It is a small token of gratefull acknowledgement of the manifold obligements wherewith I am everlastingly tied unto you. Divers imperfections there may be, to which I humbly desire you to give this favorable construction, that I would have done better if I could, and presented you with a greater gift had I had it. Live long and happie crowned with your owne worth on earth, and with glorious immortality

lity in heaven; which shall bee the continuall wish, and hearty prayers of

Your Honours

most humble & obliged servant,

ROBERT GENTILIS.

To the Reader.

I Have cursorily discoursed upon eight of those famous and noted mens lives which Plutarch writ; When I had employment, they were my vacancies to rest: when I was idle they were mine employments. Contemplation is mans greatest repose, idleness his worst employment: for it is not idleness, but a waking mans dream, a deliriumof one that is in health, and an high way to that of the sick. Man strives in vain to be idle, the Imaginative faculty hinders him, when discourse employes him not, imagination drags him, he that will not have it wander, skip, nor flie about, let him fix and stay it. I have finished of the Universall history of Monarchy, I print them not, by reason of the vehement tempest which troubleth Europe. A rule, let it be never so straight, if it be laid in a stirring water, will seem crooked to them who give more credit to the troubled means then to the reall object. I will stay till the Sea is calm, and lay open that which the tempest hideth. I will in the mean time finish these other lives, if God doth not first end mine. Ancient things (as the Philosopher

saith) are despised as fabulous, and modern are neglected as too well known. The subjects I write of were in those days when History was not dead, neither doth it now live in all men. These discourses may peradventure come into divers mens hands, to whom the History is not new. The stile is various, the conceits (I hope) not common to delight thee with the one, and gain thee with the other.

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CONSIDERATIONS upon the Lives of *Alcibiades* and *Coriolanus*.

DEath is equall in all men; oblivion and glory make the difference (said one) who sought renowne by temerity, Making glory and oblivion contraryes, and judging him onely to bee inglorious, who was forgotten, as if oblivion were not by some much more to bee desired, then to have the memory of them to vive.

Some doe so abhorre the being out of the world, that to stay in it death is horrid unto them, even then when it should be most desired and accepted, as the onely remedy and period of all their miseries and evills. And though necessity would force him out of it, yet is he desirous to remaine in it, and when sometimes he should desire an everlasting oblivion, hee seekes eternall fame even out of notorious infamy. Nothing is so tormenting to him as death, and he judges it farre better to leave an abominable memory behind

hind him, then to dye unremembred; As it were in diſpight of fate fantaſtically beſotted with his body, though extreamly afflicted; and deſirous to ſurvive in others memories, though with ſhame. And the worſt remembrance is more acceptable unto him, then none at all.

Annihilation is an enemy to man, not ſo much in reſpect of being nothing, as of not being what he is. We ſhall not peradventure find a ſubject ſo unfortunate, that would be contented to be changed into another *individium*, no not to exchange his fortune; becauſe the changing would be the annihilating of him. Yet it ſeemes harſh, that a man ſhould have a recourſe to wickedneſſe to make him remaine in the world; to that which is not, and to nothing, becauſe he would not be ſo: and yet ſome do it, and attaine to it; whether it be becauſe ſome writers willingly ſet downe any thing that is great or notorious, ſometimes to raiſe their ſtile with the relation, ſometimes to attract mens attentions with the rumour, and with the great motion, awake, pleaſe, and raiſe up the underſtanding: they awake it, but violently; they raiſe it, but to ſomething which naturally, and directly it abhorres; they pleaſe it, but often times corrupt it; or whether it proceed from that all men take delight in ſuch kind

kind of relations; the moſt wicked are comforted through the ſimiliude; the leſſe bad extenuate their badneſſe by comparing it; the contrariety encreaſes the good mans merit. Great actions, though bad, do in the matter, communicate with good ones, and with advantage, becauſe they do not find it limited as theſe laſt doe, and ſo they deceive: and thoſe who think they can give inſtruction to others by laying them open and blaming them, are oftentimes deceived: They might doe ſome good in teaching of morall vertues, if vertue, as it hath a particular forme to diſtinguiſh it from vice, had alſo a particular matter to worke upon. Vertues matter is open and manifeſt, vices is for the moſt part hidden and concealed, and he is ſometimes deceived in it that operates, and he alſo that almoſt continually ſees the operating. One ſhould not peradventure loſe his labour in the teaching of morall vertues, if there were no meanes to teach their contraries, and that one might learne onely by example of imitation, and not of ſhunning and avoyding: There being onely one rectitude, makes it a ſecure judge of obliquity. Its having latitude makes it a deceitfull judger of rectitude: Nature is inclined to evill, and evill actions include a certaine acritude in themſelves, and if they be great, and

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have a prosperous successe, cause more to follow, then to beware of them, and make more emulators then enemies.

They merit but little of posterity, that will relate evill actions causing that to be heard, which themselves would unwillingly have seen. Many evill things would be thought to have bin impossible to be done, did not Historians set them down as done: and how much better were it (to avoyd falling into them) to live deceived, then warned? Simplicity is a great vertue, and ignorance is wisedome. True it is, that if the knowledge of the will which is done be taken away, it makes a man sometimes runne into it; but if the manner of doing it be concealed, it alwayes keepes one innocent. There are times wherein bookes would bee cancelled, and some men who ought not to be mentioned; and seeing it is not in our power to forget them, let us at least not mention them. The ancient Romans did so, but to what purpose was it? if writers made mention in their Annals, even of those men whom the Senate had cancelled out of its bookes: undoing that which the Common-Wealth had done, by relating that it had done it. Is it not to be admired that those seven brave men, who affected fame and renoune, by erecting wonders in the world, could not attaine to

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it: and he that impiously burned but one of them for that purpose, did get it in despight of all Greece, which then strove with its uttermost might to have him blotted out of all mens memories. A pestilent body leaves a contagious corps behind, and though men leave being wicked, yet they leave not producing of more, and a delict when it is done, and past, serves yet for an example.

An infected body often communicates its infirmity, but never its health, though it be never so exquisitely cured. I know not whether it be because that nature in providence drives away the evill from it selfe, and thriftily reserves that which is good; Or by reason that evill proceeds from any cause, and that which is good from a sound and entire one onely. The perfect mixt will have what is wholsome, unwholsomnesse proceeds from a corrupt mixt, in the first humility, bounded by the naturall heat, is fixed, in the latter it flies unbounded. This comes forth with its malignity, and being a fumid vapour it takes hold, and cleaves too, the other retaines what is good, and if it doth chance to come forth, being a dry exhalation it doth not fasten nor take hold. This which befalls the body, is also practised in the mind: A good fame and renoune resembles rest, the bad and great

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is like motion, one is like a cleare and calme streame, which (though it be deep) glides smoothly in its channell: the other like a fierce torrent, which swell'd and troubled, runs violently precipitous with much noise. Our corrupt nature inclines to evill, violently forceth it selfe to any good: And seeing rest leaves no such impression as motion, a cleere smooth streame drawes not with such violence, as a troubled rough one, and nature defends it selfe from its contrary, and followeth its like, we need not wonder if good examples seldome cure, but evill ones doe for the most part infect.

The renoune which remained of *Alcibiades*, the membrance of his Country, Parents, Nurse, & Tutors, when there was not any memory left to posterity of any of his companions, no not so much as of their names, causeth *Plutarch* to esteem him to be a man of eminent vertue.

Of such men (I know not whether it bee because all things which belong to a great one are esteemed great, or peradventure infamous) the Country, Parentage, and Tutors, are much enquired after, and sometimes also what influence of the heavens he was borne under. Or because wee should conceive, that greatnesse is not attained, is not the purchase of man himselfe,

ſelfe, but the gift of the influences of heaven, of the nature of ſuch a temperature, of the aſſiſtance of Tutors, and as accidentall not to bee valued in him: As if he did not in himſelfe include the ſeed of greatneſſe; and that to become conſpicuous he muſt be aided by the nature of the ſoile, the influence of the ſtars, the temperature of his Parents, and the education of his Tutors; as if he were a plant no way excelling another, were it not planted in a better earth, nouriſhing by a more induſtrious hand, and hath a more benigne influence of the heavens. Man is prone to deprive himſelfe of his underſtanding, and will, and annihilate (I was almoſt going to ſay) his free will, unman himſelfe, and grow beaſt, leaving to emulate Angels, and making himſelfe like to a horſe or mule. Can he then, thinke you, alter nature, gaine a new temperature, and command that influence, which hee cannot change?

The *great man* came into the world; amongſt the Jews, hee who indeed onely deſerved the name of man; preſently his Country, Parents, and Tutors, are enquired after. His Country they know to bee *Nazareth*, whence no good can come, his Father they beleeve to be a Carpenter; they doe not find he had any Maſters or Tutors; becauſe they will not content that man

ſhould

should found unto himselfe this greatnesse, And not acknowledging it to proceed from Divinity, because they cannot attribute it, to the nature of his Country, nor education of his Tutors, they will have him possessed by a Devill.

What worser country was there then *Bethsaida*, what better country-men then *Peter*, *Andrew*, *John*, *James*, and *Philip*. There could be no better Tutors and Mastors framed to teach vertuous actions, and give good documents; then *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Seneca*; nor pupills and Schollars that could make lesse use of them then *Alcibiades*, *Dionisius* the Tirant, *Alexander* the great, and *Nero*. What father could be more Philosophicall then *Marcus Aurelius*: And more learned and eloquent then the *Romane Orator*; and who was a more brutish Son then *Commodus*, or more ignorant then *Tullus*. *Tullie* forgot that which he had by experience found to bee true in his owne family; and judging nature (which for the most part erres) to be alwayes in a certainty, pretended th'*Ethicks* to be the work of *Aristotles* son, imagining so eminent a Father could not have a son, but of a soveraigne understanding: And suffering himselfe to be overcome by the force of that argument, the invaliditie of which he himselfe had experimented,

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seemed to beleeve his sonnes case to be rather the limitation or exception of that rule, then the confirmation of another contrary one.

He that sets downe the Probleme, rests not at making learned Fathers infortunate in their children, but goes further yet, and affirmes ignorant men to be happy, as if engendring of evill, were the counterpoise of a good understanding; and the comfort of ignorance, the begetting of wisedome. He frames hereby an exception to two approved rules; Namely that no man can give that which he himselfe is not owner of: And that goodnesse is of its own nature communicable. One exception makes for ignorant men, if they can bestow understanding (which they themselves want) upon their children. And the other is adverse to learned men, if they cannot communicate unto their issue the greatest good they possesse.

He saith, also that the wise man is alwayes working with his intellect; he is not attentive in the act of generation, nor takes no great delight therein; he ejects seed without spirit, with a moderate pleasure, contemplation distracting him from it. But a blunt fellow, wholly immerged in the act, casts forth abundant vigorous stuffie seed and full of spirit.

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But this proves rather the ability of the body, then the vertue of the mind, and that the one ſhould have children of a ſoft and weake conſtitution, and the other of a ſtrong and robuſtious; the greater abundance of ſeed, cauſeth not more plenty of braine: if the greater quantity of ſpirit, produceth not a larger portion of underſtanding. If it be a ſtuffie ſeed nature frames thereof much bone, and a maſſie *cranium*, and theſe being thick hinder the intellects contemplation, and like a foggie and dark miſt hide the beauty of the images from it: The underſtanding requires mild and tender organs, and there they will be heard; ſubtile and cleere ſpirits, and there they will be thick and cloudy. The Philoſopher from the robuſtioufneſſe of the compleſion, argues a weakneſſe of the intellect, and concludes a ſtrong one, in a weake conſtitution.

How true ſoever the Probleme be in that part which concernes ignorant Parents; I will go another way to unfold that which belongs to learned fathers, becauſe many, though not peradventure moſt times, we ſee it confirmed by experience. Amongſt creatures, man hath the moſt braine; amongſt men the wiſeſt; or he that may be ſo. The matter is viſcous and cold, it hath need of much aid to draw nouriſhment unto it, and much

much ſpirit to digeſt it; Theſe are inſtruments of the naturall heat: The ſoule makes them hers, and taking them away from concocting, raiſeth them to contemplate; if not againſt, yet out of, and beyond their own nature, and becauſe ſhe would have them reach unto that which they doe not, ſhe ſubtilizeth them, daſheth them together and tormenteth them; they being ſubtilized, evaporate, tormented doe waſt, and weary are corrupted. The naturall heat wanting for a time its inſtruments, and having gotten it againe weake, it workes not being made unable, and growen feeble. Man's proper place is the earth, raiſed up into the aire he is diſordered, in the water he drownes, in the fire he burnes; The ſpirits place is the body, which ſoaring above the matter, afflicts, and deſtroyes it ſelfe. The ſeed (according to the moſt eminent Phyſician) for the moſt part proceeds from the braine, if this be weakened it will not be powerfull to beget a male, if there bee one begotten it is on the womans ſide. Hyppocrates ſaith, that thoſe who are borne of two maſculine ſeed, prove *Heroes*: Thoſe that are borne but of one, if it be the mans, it foretokens greatneſſe, if it be the womans, they become effeminate. If this ſolution doth not pleaſe thee, ſay that the forming power, makes uſe of the ſeed to make

make the ſpermaticall parts, and of the menſtruous bloud for the ſanguine. Of mans weakened ſeed it will make a very weake braine of the vigorous bloud of the woman, a ſtrong liver and heart. The rationall part will be inferiour to the iraſcible and concupiſcible, ſo the man will prove ignorant, and vicious. Theſe documents will unfold ſeverall Problemes: This is the reaſon why brute beaſt are not ſo ſubject to cathatres as men; becauſe they have a leſſer maſſe of braine: They need leſſer quantity of ſpirits to concoct, and preſerve them better, becauſe they employ them not in contemplation. A Philoſopher by chance was deceived in the ſolution of this Probleme he attributed the cauſe to mans upright figure, which being like a Limbeck, eaſily attracts the vapours unto it. He knew not that diſtillation is not onely by aſcent, but alſo by deſcent and in a plaine. If a Limbeck be not like the figure of a brute beaſt, it may be like a ſerpentine or winding ſtill: and the former diſtillation being more ſubtile, the latter groſſer a beaſts head will be more aggravated, then a mans. Behold how the good ſonne is the fathers glory, and the bad one the mothers ſorrow, either becauſe he is born of her ſeed; or becauſe the root ſprings out of her blood, ſhe predominating in the production

production of the heart, and liver, fountaines of all ill regulated passions. Behold why the sons of those who have the most sublime understanding, have but a little, and the daughters much: when the woman seed prevailes, there is an effeminate male brought forth, and when the mans, a manly female. And finally behold why Mothers love their daughters children better then their sons, and the Fathers the contrary. The males concurre in generation with the spermaticall part, the females with the masse of bloud. The forming power makes use of the fathers seed to frame him, and frames her out of the menstrous bloud. The Mother acknowledgeth her bloud in the one, and the father his seed in the other, and every one beares most affection to that where it hath the greatest part. If thou dost not acquiesce and rest satisfied with these my reasons for the solution of the first Problеme take it from the education; either because learned Fathers, so much regard their spirituall sonnes that they are careless of the other which are fleshly and carnal. Or because they are unwilling to settle them to their studies, knowing none's taken notice of except he be eminent and finding by experience how difficult it is to attaine to that eminency: and that if it bee attained to; we thereby lose our vigour

and complexion, and if not wee loſe our time alſo, and remaine unhappy, not having ſo much as the comfort of having ſhortned our life in exchanging a few yeares of it, for a long and glorious remembrance. The children looke upon the Parents as their onely ſcope and aime, hold it a difficult thing to go beyond them, and inglorious to come ſhort of them: and hold it more pleaſant and eaſie quietly to enjoy the fruits of their labours, then to imitate them: And deſpairing to arrive to their height and eminency, if it was profitable: and if it was not profitable, not caring to endeavour, in the former caſe they forſake learning to embrace eaſe and pleaſure; in the latter they contemne it as barren and fruitleſſe.

If thou be not ſatisfied by this reaſon of education, proceed to the temperament; Great underſtandings an ſubject to black choler, becoming ſo, rather then being borne ſuch, and this temperature increaſing, with a mournefull metamorphoſis transformes a wiſe man into a mad man. When theſe men beget children, melancholy is already in the laſt degree of its perfection; Theſon becomes his heire as he is then, not as hee was, and begins where the Father ends; and this humour growing to its wonted paſſe, and wanting but little of being mad, in a few yeares he wholly becomes

ſuch;

such; hence it happens that Socrates children, his coolenesse making him prudent were utterly stupid: and *Alcibiades* whose heate made him rash and temerarie, his children became frantick.

Plutarch rehearses some actions of *Alcibiades* when he was yet a child, I will likewise consider them, this age being fitter then any other, to search into the nature of subjects, which nature appeares plaine, when the subject is neither capable of discourse nor operation. But this is not (you may say) the knowing of a mans nature, well may it be the knowing of his body. It is at that time a perfect mixt, as for its being, though not sufficiently mixed, to be fitted for operation. Experience of it selfe is not that which maketh aged men prudent, neither doth ignorance alone, make young men rash and inconsiderate These have not the soule so free as to withstand the passions of the body, the others body is not so strong as to hinder the motions of the soule. What can an almost meere impotencie worke, or how can the other withstand being utterly impotent, In a youth one cannot know what way he will take when he is a man; Yet it might be knowne had he not a rationall soule, or were it not so fettered by the temperament: The wise man acknowledged himselfe ignorant in the search of wha-

it would doe, if it were freer, becauſe it is impoſsible to conjecture what that will bee, which is not, nor hath not bin. When thou ſeeſt it in being, thou wilt be able to diſcourſe (with the aſsiſtance of that which is) of what it ſhall be; yet it is alwayes difficult to warrant, or ascertaine any ſuch thing. The actions of a child are not ſufficient to teach thee his nature: there is the univerſall, and the particular nature; the former is proper to the age, the latter to the *individuum*: thou ſhalt know the one, by that which hee operates not according to the other; either he adds to it, or takes from it: And though hee ſeemes with time to change it, he doth not; he may ſometimes overcome it, but never change it, wandring through many univerſals, but alwayes with its owne particular. The nature is the ſame at all times according to the more or leſſe, ſometimes riſing, ſometimes falling. It deceives us, becauſe we doe not know the difference in the operation, which is cauſed by the augmentation and diminution of the degrees: nor yet the various conſonancie, which the ever conſtant nature of the *individuum*, hath with the differing natures of age. It ſeemes new to us, though it bee but changed not altered. Nature guides beaſts, Reaſon ſhould guide men: They doe not ordinarily give it the total and abſolute command, neither do they wholly debar it

from it: They loſe themſelves in an exceeding bad mixture of reaſon ill guided, and nature bad y followed. It were better totally to abandon themſelves to nature, at leaſt for thoſe who make no further uſe of reaſon, then onely to hinder nature, There is one belonging to the Morall Philoſopher, which is it that inclines, becauſe it is corrupt, for the moſt part, it inclines to evill. Another belongs to the *Phyſicall* Philoſopher, and that is it which teacheth, and being provident, moſt times it teacheth well. The third belongs to the Phyſician, and that is it which heales, and becauſe blind, ſometimes alſo it kills. We ſhould reſiſt that nature which inclines, and for the moſt part we follow it. We ſhould follow that which teacheth, and for the moſt part we croſſe it. We ſhould aſsiſt that which heales, and for the moſt part we hinder it.

Alcibiades contending with another boy, makes uſe of his teeth and nailes; peradventure to ſhame him whom hee could not hurt; and being not able to ſtrike, would marke him. His enemy taxeth him for being womaniſh, he glories to be Lion-like. Nailes commonly ſerve men & beaſts to cover the extremities of the veines, ſinnewes, and arteries, that the naturall, animall, and vitall Spirits might not evaporate that way; They alſo ſerve many

beasts in particular for offensive and defensive armes. If nature doth not purge the humours by convenient waies, it is either too weake, or too much oppressed. If a man vents his wrath with unfitting or unbeseeming weapons, either his rage swelling too high makes him madd, or his weakenesse casts him downe. The shape of the mouth, the scituation of it, the weakenesse of the teeth are all evident signes that nature did not place it there for his defence: and who wil imagine the nailes to be man's armes, seeing that when hee will fight, he hides them? and whereas other creatures strike with an open paw, he onely fights with a closed fist? but what a poore weapon is a fist? They surely esteem it as nothing, who daily complaine of nature, saying it was prodigall to brute beasts, and niggardly to man in furnishing him with food, armes, and raiment. The favour it hath shewen in giving him understanding seemes to appease him: and as if he had it given him to counterpoise the want of other things, and not to make him noted above others; hee calls that an exchange, which is a meere gift. Can either gentility and Christianity be forgiven such an errour? truely no. Nature hath bin wanting in nothing to man: but he contrariwise hath been wanting to

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nature. What need had he of raiment, that did not know himself to be naked? What use for Weapons, when every thing did voluntarily obey him, and when he had no Enemy? And as for food, he had it given him; He sinned in eating of that also which was denied him; And if he lost himself in that which was given him, why doth he complaine for that which he hath not received?

But it was not so womanish in *Alcibiades* to fight with such Instruments as were not given him by Nature for that purpose; as to dash against the ground those which Nature had invented to delight: he is angry with Flutes, because playing upon them disfigures his beauty: and peradventure that happened because he spoyled their harmony, playing lesse then was requisite, and deforming himself more then he needed to have done. I pardon such a conceit concerning Musicall wind Instruments in a young, tender, and wanton youth, and in a Court Philosopher, a Politician, a Peripatetick, talking with Senators and Princes; when I see vocall Musick set at naught, for the same, or peradventure no reason at all, by a Stoick morall Philosopher. The wind Musick doth not deforme the Visage, it reformes, yea, conformes it: and the vocall, which is correspondent

ſpondent to the hearing altereth the proportion of the face to conforme it to the eye: The one requires ſettledneſs to be well looked upon, and the other receives its perfection from motion: One unfolds the beauty of the Viſage, the other both laies open, and accompanies the ſweetneſs of the voice. Where there is a ſound, motion neceſſarily hath proceeded, and the motion is with meaſure if the ſound be harmonious. Sometimes alſo it is voluntarily accompanied with the head, eyes, and mouth and that with delight, though without neceſſity, if it be with proportion: That motion which offends, produces no harmonious ſound, or doth not accompany it proportionably. But ſinging doth not cauſe a bodily motion only in him that ſings, it cauſeth it alſo in him that hearkens, if he doth not ſtrive againſt it, the Spirits will howſoever move; let them be never ſo much coerced and reſtrained, and harmony is ſo linked to motion that I canno: but beleeve they were ſo in the firſt Movers motions. He that will not grant ſuch a thing in the ſuperiour heavens, will not howſoever deny it in the loweſt, in which if he do admit of it, by what reaſon can he deny it in the greater. Thoſe who beleeve a motion in the heavens, and confeſs them to be ſolid: that grant a fire in the concavity of the Moon, and that it

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is kindled by attrition, cannot deny a sound, and if they grant any, what a one shall it be? of a most swift, equall, and simple motion? (f a sublime body, perfectly spher call, and noble in the highest degree? and of an infinite mover? Certainly, it is harmonious, and in so eminent a degree, that from it all inferiour harmonies receive their first origine as all motions do its motion. Why doth not fire contend with the aire, and how comes it that it doth not consume it? Why, is it not impossible for it to be contained within the Vniverse and not consume it? By the preservation of nature? It is well said. By the vertue which the place gives to the thing placed? Better: And it will peradventure be best of all, to say, that being ravished by the harmony of the Celestiall Spheres, attentive only to the raising of it self towards them, it forbeares contending, because it would not give over advancing: nor shall we in so doing attribute more power to the heavens, then ancient fables did to *Orpheus*: nor appropriate any other nature to fire then that which all Philosophers ascribe unto it, namely, of mounting upwards, especially in its own sphere, where having no need of fewell, it hath no occasion to stoop for food. He that will not grant influences without motion or light if he will have the heavens severall and vari-

ous motions to serve this lower world for some other use besides carrying the light about; Let him not deny them harmony; he that admits of influences, doth already grant it. The Conjunctions, Sextiles, Quadrates, Trines and Opposites will produce it, which are unisons, thirds, fourths, fifths, and sevenths: And if here beneath a perfect unison increase the harmony, an imperfect one spoiles it; certainly above, the conjunctions of good are excellent, and of bad ones exceeding evill. In the heavens a quadrate, and an opposite make a dissonancy, on earth a fourth and a seventh. Harshness are here corrected with the fifth and third; there the Sextile and the Trine of benevolent rayes, contrary to misfortunes, have force and power to strengthen.

Alcibiades was very eloquent, and his lisping added a kind of grace to his eloquence, because it was contrary to it. There is greater pleasure in hearing Beasts speak, though they speak ill, then men though they speak better: The one overcomes, the other do but follow Nature. Man takes great delight, and (which I more wonder at) hath a great instinct from Nature it self to oppose it. The delight would be less, the profit greater, if he did it for profit rather than pleasure. God commanded him to manure the Earth where it was barren, and that where it brought forth

forth thorns, he should cause bread to grow: The Precept was to labour, not to take pleasure: but he where he should grow fruitfull becomes barren, and where he should receive the bread of grace, he feeds the thorns of sin. He feels within himself that instinct of opposing nature. He knows his happiness consists in the overcomming of it; but equivocating therein, and either for want of understanding, or through a wilfull misunderstanding, whereas he should strive against his own inward, he opposeth the outward Nature, where he finds Hills he makes Plaines, where Plaines he raises Hills; in pleasant places he seeks horrid ones, and brings pleasantness into places of horrour; he seconds that which he ought to withstand, and that which he should follow he opposes; and when he thinks he triumphs over anothers nature, his own nature triumphs over him. This is a Stratagem of the particular nature to set us at odds with the universall; And that she may remain quiet within, she causeth us to strive abroad. Like to a cunning politick Tyrant, who having a valiant and fierce Subject within his City, by whom he fears to have violence or opposition offered him; if he can find no other remedy he sends him into the field to fight with the Enemy, to the end, that venting his violence and fantasticalness abroad, he may

have

have plenary power to tyrannize at home at his pleasure. God is angry with us that we should at the same time reform that which he himself had framed; and conform our selves to that which we had deformed. He had (as we may say) suffered *Solomon* to run unpunished while he gave himself in prey to women, worshipped Idols, loved a figure of flesh, which would quickly return to dust, better then himself: but no sooner did he put his hand to levelling of Mountaines, but presently he caused rebellions to be raised against him, and decreed the rending of his Kingdom from him: It seeming strange to him that man should not be content to follow his own bad nature, but he must also persecute the good, and to be a King where he should obey, and instead of a Vassall become a Tyrant. Peradventure also that little kind of lisping wrought the same effect in *Alcibiades*, as a small spot doth in a fair face; a remiss stile enterlaced amidst lofty Dictates and pithy Speeches; Not because contraries compared, and placed neere one another shew their luster more plainly, but because it gives envy satisfaction, which taketh pleasure in defects; or by reason it takes away that astonishment which instead of delighting, confounds. I do not say that imperfection can make perfect, that a defect can encrease beauty, and therewith

delight.

delight. A ſpot in a beautifull face, a ſentence of remiſs ſtile in a flouriſhing ſpeech, adde not grace to a viſage, nor beauty to a dictate, they do not increaſe delight; they entertain it, becauſe they extinguiſh, and then renew it; The continued action of an Agent increaſes the effect; he that ſtands neareſt the fire warmes and dries himſelf moſt. Our naturall power is limited to a certain meaſure. When the continued preſence of the delightfull object doth exceed, the delight ceaſes, and comming to the extreme of what it can contribute, it delights no longer. He that will renew his pleaſure, muſt begin with paine, and go out of the naturall ſtate to return into it. Let him look upon the ſpot; Go out into the cold; run over the remiſs and meaner ſtile; Then return to behold the beauty of the face; to enjoy the ſweetneſſe of the heat; admire the beauty of the ſpeech, and efficacy of the phraſe; He that looks upon a faire peece limmed by a Maſter workmans expert hand, is much delighted thereby, yet after the firſt violence it failes and diminiſhes; becauſe it is come to the extreme it vaniſhes. But he that is admitted to ſee the admirable working of an excellent Pencill upon a plaine and ſmooth board, continues ſometimes grieved at the framing of an imperfection, then delighted with ſeeing it per-

perfected; And all those proceedings being full of reformed deformities refined, are full of relight keeping the imagination in continuall motion, through the Novelties. A Musitian cannot please better than by erring. He passes through dissonancies, and frames Pauses, and with the one takes the hearer out of his naturall state and with the other he ends an operation. Then he begins again to sing, goes on in consonancy, to renew the operation, to return the hearer into his naturall state by delighting him. What do fooles & naturall idipes in great Noblemens Palaces? Their imperfection serves to draw the Nobleman out of the naturall state into which wise and understanding mens discourses had brought him, that he may afterwards return unto it with more delight. Finally, it is true that man desires to find defect, even in those things which are pleasing to him, and that he rejoices when he hath found it; peradventure seeming unto him that he hath gotten command over him that hath it, and that he may reape the delight of pardoning, without feeling the dammage of being offended; Nature also, may be, sets him in the way to seek it, to bring him through the knowledge of him who hath the defect, to the knowing of him who hath none. No sooner doth any delectable object present it self to man, but he turnes towards

wards it, intending to pleaſe himſelfe; and finding it (though never ſo great) uncapeable to ſatisfie him, perſiſting nevertheleſſe in his deſire, becauſe he will not beleeve it is impoſſible to be attained, he ſeekes the reaſon why he hath not attained it. If he finds the defect he rejoyces, it not lying in the unſatiabilitie of the deſire, but in the deficiencie of the object. He hopes to finde one totally perfect, and that when he hath found it, he ſhall be ſatisfied. Then becauſe of the deficiencie which he findes in all earthly things, he raiſeth up himſelfe to beleeve, that there is a primarie cauſe without defect: and finding it not to his ſatisfaction in this world, he thinks he ſhall finde it in heaven. And ſo behold the Creature ſerves for an inſtrument to bring man to ſeeke out the Creator; not onely by what is perfect in it, but alſo by that which wants perfection. There one may perceive there is a God, and that the creature is not he: If the creature were totally perfect, who would denie it Godhead? Flatterers, who have fawned upon it, have even adored it for ſuch; and ſimple people, who have beleeved it perfect, have offered incenſe to it as Celeſtiall.

Alcibiades was playing in the ſtreet with ſome of his Companions, there happens a country Fellow to come along with a Cart, which paſſing by would ſpoile their ſport.

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He tries (but in vain) by calling to him to make him ſtay; He runs not away cowardly like the reſt; He ſeeks not raſhly to ſtop him by force. Cunningly he lyes down in the high way, forcing him either to ſtay his Cart, or to drive it over him. The beſt inſtrument to hinder an action, is the producing of feare; the worſt to provoke wrath. If he reſiſts the Country Fellow, he angers him. By caſting himſelf upon the ground, he affrights him; He ſtayes him with aſtoniſhment, though he cannot do it with curtſie. Yet in twithſtanding *Alcibiades* ſhews himſelf in this action raſhly ambitious, as well as cunning. For a ſmall matter he adventures himſelf in a great danger. Dangers in ſuch caſes are much deſired, even as thirſt, and itching deſires of the fleſh are welcome to thoſe who totally yeeld up themſelves into Bacchus, and Venus hands, not becauſe they are willing to ſtay in the tormenting ſenſe of theſe paſſions, but becauſe they will proceed in the pleaſure of ſatisfying them, which proves greater by the provocation. If upon great commotions depend great delights; and if feare be the ſtrongeſt paſsion that is in man, what pleaſure ſhall he not find in the paſsing from dangers to ſecureneſs? You will find wrath, hatred, envy, deſire of domination to be moſt weake

paſsions,

paſsions, if you compare them with feare. This Chimericall paſsion is of greater force then thoſe reall ones, if we will beleeve an eminent Polititian. Many and true provocations (ſaith he) had *Otho* to adventure himſelf to obtain the Empire. Deſire of domination, a riot even burthenſome to a Prince, Poverty ſcarce to be tolerated by a private man, Anger and hatred towards *Galba*, Envy againſt *Piſo*. He feigned but one only of theſe paſsions to make him the more to affect it and that was Feare. What makes Tyranny ſo pleaſing, but the love of danger. Where it is great, he can deſire no more; where it is but ſmall, he encreaſes it; where there is none, he feigns it. Yet the tragick ſcene of theſe men is full of bloud unjuſtly ſpilt, ſometimes of guilty, ſometimes of half guilty, and ſometimes of innocent men. I ſhould ſay only of innocent, for the greateſt fault that Tyrants puniſh, deſerves the the name of the greateſt innocency. But if if this man be not yet grown ſo inhumane, as to feign a fear where there is none; yet he ſeldome reſerves ſo much humanity as not to grudge and bemoane himſelf, becauſe there is none. *Tiberius* comes into the Senate houſe, he finds all the Senators to ſecond his thoughts, and flatter his actions: No body Contradicts him, no man provokes him, He goes forth angry, and

and enraged: Calls them base men, prepared for slavery. He was troubled and molested (saith the Author) with such base servility, he was ashamed (said I) of having caused it: He was sorry (I now say) that he had lost that feare, which was the Seminarie of his delights *Plato* and *Tacitus* also knew peradventure that to be true which I said, though they did not explaine it. They call a Tyrant unhappy; not by reason of any outward feare, which he with pleasure and delight satisfies by the death of sometimes one, sometimes another Citizen: But by reason of the inward feare, which insensibly gnawing his entrailes lets him neither find rest, nor hope for remedy. If the griefe and paine of this did not counterpoise, yea go beyond the pleasure and delight of the other, we should amongst the Pagans reckon more Tyrants than Princes. There is a Character imprinted in mans Nature by God, which we call Conscience, to the end that even who those may feare him who not know him. Contenting himself rather with not being known, then not feared. to the end that the world should not be lost for want of feare, nor men arrive to the extreme of wickednesse.

Alcibiades becomes *Socrates* his Scholar. He addicts himself with much fervency to the learning of Sciences, and with as much eager-

eagerneſs follows vices. He ſtudied greatneſs, more then goodneſs; to counterpoiſe, not to forgoe his defects; going forwards in acquiring vertue as a means to ſatisfie his ambition. Which he cannot attain to by being admired by the leſſer number, namely, the wiſe; if at the ſame time he be abhorred by the greater number, which are the ignorant. He would be like the bad, becauſe many, and becauſe he would not become an enemy to many, for not being like them. He had his intent with reproach, whereas he might have had it with commendation, if he had outwardly habited himſelf with the vulgars qualities, which are not vices; and inwardly with wiſe mens that are vertues. This had joyned in him thoſe two ſo contrary elements, the wiſe, and ignorant, in the ſame manner as the aire linkes the elements of fire and water together. He that will gain a man let him not be his adverſary, or at the leaſt let him not ſhew himſelfe to be ſo, for otherwiſe he will flye him. If he cannot make himſelf ſemblable, let him feign to be ſo, if he means to be followed. Reſemblance is of great vertue, every one celebrates it, and peradventure none underſtand it. The like doth not attract the like, becauſe it is the like, but becauſe the ſimilitude is joyned with ſuperiority; otherwiſe iron might draw iron; and

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if by vertue of resemblance it should receive force from the loadstone, it also might do it. He is deceived in Physick that thinks *Rhubarb* draws bilious humours, because it hath a resemblance to them. The resemblance causeth it to find no resistance; but the superiority draws In Musick the unison, which meerly resembleth is disliked and rejected as dissonant, and the eight is admitted and approved as harmonious, it adding nothing to the resemblance but superiority. In policy to be of one and the same Province, of the same Language, and custome, if there be no superiority, brings forth a Republick or Common-wealth, if there be a superiority, it produces a Principality. The Tribe of *Judah* lees *David* grown great, they say he is their brother, and follow him: he was so before, and yet no man stirred. He that thinks love to grow from resemblance, what reason can he give for its being seldome enterchangeable (being it should alwaies be so) unless superiority added unto it perswade the enterchange. This instinct of similitude, either of suffering ones self to be drawn, or of voluntarily following superiority, often proceed from a desire of advancing to a greater perfection, or of preserving that degree which one hath received from it, for which purpose the resembling eminent is held a more fit Instrument then any other.

So

So the coldneſſe of the earth which is not entire, is preſerved by that of the water, which is fully perfect; the humidity of the water, by that of the aire; the heate of the aire by that of the fire, and all theſe by the virtuall qualities of the heaven, which the inferiour ones eminently containe.

Alcibiades invited with other Nobles by *Nicetus* to ſupper, contemnes the invitation; He makes himſelfe drunke at home, then goes to his friends houſe, takes away the one halfe of his plate, and without any more adoe returnes to his owne houſe. The gueſts wonder at *Alcibiades* inſolency, and admire *Nicetus* patience. He anſwers that he ought to thanke him for that part which he had left him. All troubles have their comforts and many poiſons their antidotes. He that inſtead of eating the vipers back, eats its head and taile, will not be cured; he that with an ill looke, lookes upon trouble, when he might doe it with a good one, will not be comforted. One that were in love as *Nicetus* was, with him that cauſeth the trouble, would take an occaſion to thanke him for it; and he that hath been ſo, hath done it. Man doth not looke upon troubles with a good countenance, becauſe he contents not himſelfe to come out of trouble at even hand, by onely remaining comforted: He is deſirous to gaine, ſometimes com-

paſſion

paſſion, and with a female weakneſs makes moane; ſometimes repute and eſteem, and with a manly courage endures it. This laſt though for the moſt part he ſhew a good countenance, and the other ſee it, yet will he not ſeeme to others to take notice of it: If any ſhews it him he is vexed; thinking that by ſlighting the occaſion he derogates from the greatneſſe of his power. Of theſe two wayes of paſsing over troubles the Female is the moſt common, peradventure becauſe Puſillanimity is more eaſie then Fortitude. True it is, that it is a vice; but in this caſe the obtaining of the reward, namely compaſsion, will not let it ſeeme ſo. Men had alſo rather compaſsionate then admire: with compaſsion one benefits a wretched man without any loſs, yea, with gaine, with admiration he payes an homage due to a great worth, even to his own diſgrace. The one is the daughter of that which the cataſtrophe in the world uſeth to beſtow; the other of that which our weakneſs cannot attaine: to the firſt one goeth voluntarily, to the other he is dragged. The underſtanding afflicts it ſelf in the acts of compaſsion; if there be any delight, it is in the ſence. In that of admiration it rejoices, and the inferiour part is afflicted in it. And although they be both oftentimes waies to take away the tormenting paſsion of envy:

yet the leaving of it by growing great, or by seeing ones self outgon is every different It is mans nature to behold with an ill countenance those afflictions wch God sends him, and to make them greater then they are; And with a good looke, those which he procures to himself, and make them lesse, to avoid shame and gaine compassion. He knowes that when they proceed meerely from Gods providence, they are tokens of affection, when from our own imprudency; of punishment; and to shew his love greater, and his wrath lesser, in the one case he increases, and in the other he lessens it; and alwayes to the losse and dammage of truth. Which truth we ought not to wonder that nature hath placed according to *Heraclitus* his opinion in a deep well or according to *Democritus* in an obscure cave. She did it to employ us all our life time in searching for it, and when we have found it, wee seek after nothing more then how to corrupt it; Man provokes God by complaining of evill fortune more then he ought, and by not attributing to him in prosperity, so much as he should. He knowes not he had it before it is gone; and sometimes it goes away because it was not known. And when with repentance wee should call our selves ingratefull: with temerity giving new offence, we call fortune unstable, and which

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is worſe, we make it ſo. Finally man finds ſuch unſavourineſſe in the meane and ſo much acrimony in the extreame, that ordinarily he drawes back moſt from the firſt when he hath not arrived unto it, and advances forward moſt when he is come to it, or gone beyond it, becauſe he will not ſtay at it, or becauſe he would ſtill go further from it: whence comes that the young man ſhortens his years, the old man encreaſes them. *His* domeſtick and familiar figure (ſaith *Quintilian*) is hyperbole, becauſe he is an enemy to truth. But this cannot be, for truth is the object of mans moſt noble power, it is not each ones equality, it is reſerved only for the beſt, that which he ſees in this world is ſufficient to move his deſire, but becauſe it is not ſo much as will ſatisfie it, he is perplexed. *He* would have it to be ſo, but cannot really make it ſo; he doth it as much as he can with hyperbole: ſo that he lyeth, not in hatred, but in behalfe of truth, corrupting that which is not his object, to make it become ſo.

Alcibiades hath many Athenian Nobles that make love to him, and offer him great preſents; he contemnes them. A Country fellow falls in love with him, ſells all he hath, and preſents the money to him. *Alcibiades* accepts of his love, and his gift; and with that mony makes him preſently gaine

a Talent. He hath reaſon to make more eſteeme of the Country Fellows affection, then of the Nobles. It was greater, and ſincerer: He that gives not all he hath to the beloved perſon, loves him not above all things; he loves that better which he hath reſerved for himſelf. The paſſions of ſimple men are plaine, thoſe of Nobles are mixed with ambition: The love of the one is meere love, that of the other hath pride coined with it. The one ſeeks only to delight himſelf, the others to ſubject alſo, yea, & more then ſubject; hautines prevailing in them above affection, whileſt ſometimes through jealouſie, by the death of the beloved, they have deprived themſelves of delight, becauſe they would not endure a Companion. They ſay that love enters not an abject and degenerous breaſt, but links it ſelf only to noble hearts. It is true of that part of love which is pride, the peculiar ſin of great ones. Love is a Tyrant, not only becauſe he tyrannizes over him whom he conquers, but becauſe he alſo imprints in in him the Character of tyrannizing. They decline love to be a deſire of enjoying the thing beloved. But it is alſo a deſire to captivate its body and ſoule, and to take away free will from it. He that ſaid, *Lucifer* ſinned through pride, ſaid well. He that ſaid he ſinned through exceſs, though he did not

unfold it well, did not peradventure ſpeak totally ill. The Angell ſaw God, not as he is, for then he would have loved him of neceſſity, and in an ordinary way, and had not ſinned: He loved him voluntarily, and diſorderly, and ſinned. For it being made manifeſt to him, that God would be humanated (as we may ſay) and man Goddified, changing vertue into paſsion: adding pride to love; to the deſire of enjoying, the deſire of tyrannizing; willing to be only alone, or ſuffer no equall, he forſook the love of God; Iealous, armed himſelf with hatred againſt mankind, to hinder it, as his rivall, from enjoying the clear ſight of the beatificall object.

But how ſtands *Socrates* amidſt this multitude of lovers? He peradventure beleeved that where there was ſo much beauty, there was alſo a great diſpoſition to vertues. I meane not ſpeculative but moraſl: Even as amongſt Brutes, that which is the faireſt, performes beſt its proper naturall operation; the Lion hath moſt valour, the Greyhound moſt ſwiftneſs; ſo to the underſtanding of many, the faireſt man ſhould beſt perform thoſe operations which are proper to man; who being a compound of ſoule and body, his ſaid operations belong rather to the practicall, then to the ſpeculative intellect. The ſpeculative goes to the knowledge of the

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first truth, the practick to the well directing of the operations according to true wisdom: the one shall see its object only at home, the other can only attaine unto it in its way. And how should Nature give us our end in this world, which though we labour for never so hard, we cannot attaine in it. But in what manner can that saying agree with *Alcibiades* actions, who being exceeding beautifull, was notwithstanding ambitious, dishoneſt and lascivious? They may say that the Prognostick is not so infallible in man, who operates by election, as in beasts who work according to nature: and that you can hardly so know beauty, as to distinguish the Masculine from the feminine. That which proceeds from the facility which nature finds in working with the humid, and that which it finds in operating with the temperate. That which hath its influence from Venus, and that which hath it from Sol, and Iupiter: The one is seen to incline the inferiour part to condescend to embracements. The other makes prudent, addes Majesty, and respect, and brings up the superiour part to a chaste desire of heavenly beauty. The one belongs to the feeling, the other to the mind; The first false, the other a true mark of a wise mind. If *Socrates* did consider what *Alcibiades* was, he might quickly know from what fountaine

his beauty was derived. Some one attributed so much to this beauty, which we terme Masculine, and which being perfect is a sign of a most exquisitely tempered body, that he affirmed, that if any such were, and once being did endure; it would make the subject thereof most calme and happy, its senses perfect, its understanding eminent, its passions moderate, and, without repining, obedient to reason. I never did grant it any superiority in Sciences, once I condescended to yeeld it in morall actions: Now I deny it in all, and will grant it no superiority; but in those vertues only which serve for the body, the appetitive, the attractive, the concoctive, the retentive, and the expulsive. To speculation the body is a burthen, and opposes it self to the working of it: The stronger it is, the more it withstands, and it is strongest, when it is most temperate. In a dry, leane, withered body, which is almost no body at all, you shall find passions almost quite extinguished; the understanding in a manner Angelicall, a perfect operation; and most excellent speculation. In bruite beasts the case is different, because the reason is likewise so. They have need of the bodyes assistance, if they will operate well; man needs none but onely not to be hindred by it. In beasts the stronger it is, the more it helps, in men when it is weakest,

weakeſt, it hinders leaſt. But be it how it will. me thinkes *Socrates* did not deſerve much commendations in this manner of arguing. For if from the beauty of the creature, which is never perfect neither in man nor woman, but in all frail and fading, we argue concerning the creatures beauty; we ſhall judge *Fidias* and *Apelles* beauties, farre to exceed the divine, when we ſet before our eyes their ſtatues and pictures, drawen with excellent lines and colours. and of a more laſting ſubſtance then our ſelves. You will ſay theſe have no ſoule; Then we muſt not aſcend to the contemplation of God from lineaments and colours, but from the ſoule. The body you'l ſay is the ſhadow of the mind and ſoule; I deny it, and will alwayes hold internall beauty, which conſiſts in the miraculous framing & organizing of this bodily fabrick, equally compoſed by the Almighty in all men to be a more fit, and ſecure ladder, for man to climbe up with his underſtanding towards his Creator, than the externall; which differing in each one, conſiſts in three or foure lineaments, and a few colours. I will ſay that *Galen* tooke a better way then Socrates, though each of them proceeded according to his owne art. The one being a Phyſician, attributed unto the uſe of the parts the chiefe praiſe for the knowledge of Gods

greatneſſe. The other a Sculptor, forgetting that he was a Philoſopher alſo, attributed it to the lineaments. The Angell (ſaith a wiſe man) is the ſhadow of God, the ſoule, the Angels, the body, the ſoules. And then he wonders, that ſeeing neither God, nor the Angell buſie themſelves upon the conſideration of their ſhadow to their owne prejudice; the ſoule ſhould forget and loſe it ſelfe in loving, and following its ſhadow. But it is not true, becauſe this is not the true ſhadow. He had argued much better, if he had gone on by degrees thus, The Angell is God's ſhadow, Man the Angel's, the Beaſt man's, and Plant sthe Beaſt's. Thoſe who fall in love with lineaments and colours, in relation to the ſoule, where that is corrupt, frame a true caſe, more deplorable then the fabulous tale of *Narciſſus*. He was enamoured of his owne ſhadow, they of another mans; in one there was a true and reall beauty of body in the other a falſe ſuppoſed one of the mind. *Plato* in a place calls Socrates a hunter, as if he went inveſtigating Gods beauty by meanes of that of *Alcibiades*. He knew he had erred, if that beauty was joyned with a deformity of the ſoule, and to cover *Socrates* his defect, he feigned vertue in *Alcibiades*: bearing greater affection to his Maſter, then to truth. He calls him *bonæ indolis*, in whoſe life

life there is nothing constantly to be found but uncleanneſſe. What then? Shall we blame *Socrates*, and tax him with diſhoneſty? Farre be it from us. Hee loved *Alcibiades*, and *Alcibiades* him with a chaſte and ſincere love, both drawn thereunto by the harmonious proportion of defect and ſuperabundancy. *Socrates* had a moſt beautifull minde, a leane, dry, ſqualid body, hairy, bald and melancholy. *Alcibiades* a moſt beautifull body, a laſcivious, diſhoneſt, intemperate, ambitious minde. The old man with his eyes enjoyed the young ones beauty; he by the eare participated of the old mans vertue. A wonderfull exchange, more pleaſing in *Socrates*, and more profitable in *Alcibiades*, and in both equally honeſt.

Alcibiades gives *Hipponicus* a box on the eare, to make ſport, and a jeſt amongſt his companions; yet thoſe which write of Ridiculouſneſſe, exclude pain out of it: Peradventure it ought not to be excluded, when the perſon is more ridiculous than the act painfull, as we daily ſee it practiſed in Jeſters: a box on the eare is ſenſible in a child, in elder yeares it doth not pain Nature, becauſe it will not take away the vigor of the puniſhment, where it hath not given a ſpirit ſenſible of reſentment, hath given a tender fleſh to feel it; and where an obtuſe ſenſe of

the pain, an apprehenſive feeling of the diſgrace. The blow of the box is not ſo ſenſible to an old man, as his perſon is ridiculous to a young one; there being oftentimes an apparent deformity ſeen in them without any apparent pain. *Alcibiades* could not have made a jeſt of the blow, nor framed mirth out of it, had he not firſt drawn it from the perſon But if (according to the Philoſophers opinion) Compaſſion be the daughter of Feare, by reaſon of that which may in like-manner befall us, how can the young man laugh at the old, and not rather compaſſionate him. And if ſeeing a defect in another which we have not our ſelves, is a cauſe of comfort rather than griefe in us; whence groweth our pleaſure in ſpeaking and hearing others evill ſpoken of? And And how ought old men bee grieved at the follies they ſee in young men? Youth ſhould grieve at the defects of old age, and old men laugh at the ignorance of youth. But they are not ſorry that a young man wants wiſdome but onely that he doth not know it, and eſteem it; becauſe they exceeding in this noble vertue, the daughter, and onely comfort of old Age, they are grieved to ſee that Talent deſpiſed for which onely they can bee reſpected and reverenced. Young men laugh at old men, becauſe the deformity which they ſee preſent, being greater than the

the griefe, moves their imagination ſtronglier than the future, on which oftentimes they doe not think, and which they know not whether it will happen or no; or hope it will be better. What a barbarous thing is a young man? Let him that will bee ſafe from him, ſhun him: he walks in unknown wayes, and (I had almoſt ſaid) like a thing mixt of Man and Beaſt; the degree of the mixture is unknown, what he will be, is impenetrable: ſometimes they are like Beaſts, becauſe they doe not make uſe of reaſon; ſometimes worſe, becauſe they abuſe it. The overmuch heat hinders wiſdome in youth, too much coldneſſe extinguiſhes it in old age: ſometimes it never comes, but man paſſes from immaturity to rottenneſſe; and when it does come, it is alwayes late, and laſts but a little. It is almoſt the onely one amongſt ſublunary things, which doth not receive the proportion of Periods, a Beginning, a Being, an Increaſe, and Declining. *Quintilian* wonders why all men being made by Nature to be good, few are ſuch. I (to not wonder at it) doe rather conſider whence it proceeds, that the ſuperior, part for the moſt part, is not ſo; and whereas it is made to command, it obeyes. Peradventure the advantage of yeares is a great cauſe of it; in which our ſenſe doth with eaſe tyranny over us, with-

out meeting with any oppoſition, or let from the ſoule, and becauſe they are the firſt yeares, it takes ſtrong root, and being many, it frames a habit. Then comes Reaſon in, and findes the Tyrant already in poſſeſſion, fortified, and rooted: It muſt fight againſt that which he is, and that which he hath done: it muſt ſubdue the forces of ſenſe, overcome the reſiſtance of habit, and deſtroy that Nature to frame a new one. But why doe we not at the firſt, as ſoon as we are born, attain to reaſon? Peradventure becauſe we would then preſently operate without a guide; and wanting experience, we ſhould precipitate. Learned and wiſe men (induced by a caſe which happened in our dayes, and being ſingular, and almoſt monſtrous, makes no preſident) have believed, that a Subject may ſecurely paſſe over from ſpeculation to practice without any further experience. I will here ſet down my opinion therein, with all due reſpect and reverence to famous Writers of great merit. If truth onely were the object of our underſtanding, and not that alſo which is like unto it, there would be no error. And if all things could be demonſtrated, there would be no opinions; the deficiency of the one, and ſuper-abundancy of the other, ruine the world. The underſtanding deſpairing of demonſtrating the truth, gives

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it selfe over to vanity, and goes in quest of opinion, and not being able to acquiesce in it, he raises himselfe higher, and seekes to stirre up admiration through novelty, seeing he cannot teach and direct with truth. He esteems himselfe to be a brave man in Sciences that makes not the cleerest, but the hardest argument, which though it doth not convince, yet it overcomes the understanding as if the ones wisdome consisted in the others ignorance; and truth, which should be the easiest for the understanding to finde, (as the center of ponderous things) is sought out by difficult & obscure things. How many things are there daily seen, which because we know not how they are, nor how they are done, doe astonish and breed admiration in us, for nothing else, but onely because we take the loftiest, and most difficult way to understand what they are, and how performed. And afterward, if the Artificer doe divulge it, we finde it to be an easie and plaine way, we acknowledge the error, we cease our admiration, and remaine ashamed.

The like would happen in questions concerning Sciences: if truth were discovered to us, and that God did not hide it from man, shewing him this great Fabrick of the World; keeping him still in disputes, not letting him understand it, because he will mortifie him. The

The Politick truth of the future, being then ordinarily concealed, how ſhall ſuch an underſtanding find it, which is accuſtomed to elevate it ſelfe above the matter, to ſeek extravagant wayes, to ſubtilize, diſtinguiſh, invent and imagine, that if it doth not penetrate into it, it happens becauſe it doth not raiſe & elevate it ſelf ſufficiently: Then in our caſe, it finds it ſelf in a lowly & groſs matter, not hard to be attained, becauſe the underſtanding doth not reach unto it, but becauſe for the moſt part it goes beyond it. One going from Sciences, where he is ſchollar, that followes the opinions of thoſe that went before him; and he a maſter that invents, and comming to the politick, where Experience is Miſtreſs, and he a Maſter that followes it, ſhall commit as many errors, as the things are which he invents, deſpairing of ever warranting or aſſerting any thing, if he doth not turn from being a Maſter to be a Schollar, forſaking ſpeculation, which is an enemy to Experience.

But above all others, he ſhall ſeldome prove able in politick affaires, that is accuſtomed to interpret the holy Scripture. The difficulty proceeds not onely from the difference of times, God then making for the moſt part, the ſecondary cauſes obedient to merit; and now letting them oftentimes runne in favour of injuſtice; but likewiſe from

from the difference which is between the Divine and Humane intellect: the one infinite, the other finite; this an accident, that a ſubſtance. The holy Ghoſt doth not ſpeak a word for one thing alone, his ſenſe may be interpreted for any thing that is pious; for he meanes it all. Hee gives ſcope of altering thoughts, interpret and inlarge the old, invent new, teach with the doctrine, and delight with the variety, without prejudice of truth. But man doth, and ſaith one thing onely for it, and and not alwayes for that which he ſhould doe or ſay.

In what caſe then ſhall that man finde himſelfe, who comes from interpreting the Divine meaning, which is ſo large, and ſo good, and goeth to interpret that of men, which is alwayes ſhort, and for the moſt part evill; ſeeing that in the one he cannot erre, without he digreſſe; and in the other men have often erred, becauſe they have not digreſſed. I doe not ſay that diſcourſe is not neceſſary for man, I exclude it in ſpeculative Sciences, and admit it in what belongs to practice; ſnow to be ſnow, ought to be white, and ſo ought a woman to be fair; and yet notwithſtanding if ſnow were as a woman, it would not be white; and if a woman were of the colour of ſnow, ſhe would not be fair. And though a great wiſe man compared

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a man that wanted Science, and had Experience, to an Empyrick Phyſitian, and the learned man to the Methodicall: yet hee was deceived in the compariſon; becauſe Sciences have nothing to doe with the Policie, whereas Theorie is neceſſarie for Phyſick; And if he proves any thing, it is that in Phyſick; beſides Experience, Diſcourſe is neceſſary, and judgement much more than in Sciences: but in practice it is produced, and being produced, is refined.

To theſe ſpeculative men there often happens that which befalls many Theoricall Phyſicians, who comming to operate, will firſt try experience, rather than follow thoſe experiments which have already been made; and thereupon they begin with killing of patients: yet therein hee differs from the Polititian: For the Phyſician killing many, ſometimes learnes how to heale the reſt; but the Politician beginning to kill one, doth alwayes almoſt ingage himſelfe to kill an infinite number, and from overthrowing one piece of State, to overthrow all the World: for after he is entred into a way, in which the ſubtilty of diſcourſe, alwayes accompanied with acritude did ſet him, rather then foundneſſe of judgement, he ſo ingages himſelf in it, that he cannot turn back ſometimes without precipitating.

I

I conclude, that Experience is Mistresse of Policie; and because she is Mistresse, the Politician must needs be her Disciple, and consider it before he practise it: He that at the first thrusts himselfe upon it, may lose himselfe before he gives Experience leave to teach him. In the opinion of wise men, errors do teach more than any other thing; yet they have one difficulty, they begin with doing harm, and doe not alwayes leave way for a remedy, many oftentimes losing themselves in the first error which they commit. I grant that errors doe teach, and that they are profitable, but not by being put in execution, but onely thought upon: not running the danger, but gathering the fruit.

Peradventure the silence which *Pythagoras* enjoyned his scholars, was to this intent, he would not have them discredit themselves in divulging their errors, he gave them leave to think on them, but would not suffer them to come upon the stage, untill such time as by those in which they had been silent, they had learned to not commit them. So the Physitian which goeth to practise with his Master, seeing that which is done, and considering what he himselfe should doe, in the good and the evill which he sees, and in that which he thinks, giving as it were, Physicke *in abstracto*, in his owne

phantasie

phantaſie and imagination from that which he ſees others doe, without any diſcredit to his own perſon; and from that which he thinkes he ſhould do, were it his caſe, without any dammage to the patient. Somtimes certain, ſomtimes erring, learnes to be ſure without erring. This advantage have Common-wealths above Princes: young men enter into Magiſtracies, and like the *Pythagoreans* they hearken and are ſilent, they learn and do not operate, untill the inſtruction and experience of old men have fully inſtructed them: with art they ſupply the defects of Nature, which makes it impoſſible for children to operate, by denying them the uſe of reaſon; and they will not ſuffer young men to operate, becauſe they ſhould not abuſe reaſon. The firſt age is not the dangerous age, ſeeing that being blinde, it ſuffers it ſelfe to be guided, and therefore ſeldome ſtumbles: it is the ſecond that is dangerous, which having its eyes open, ſees little, admits no guide, & eaſily runs headlong

This barbarous action of *Alcibiades* troubled the whole Citie of *Athens*: in the Cowardly it moved feare becauſe the like might befall them; in raſh men wrath, as if it had already happened to them; valiant men ſtomach it; and wiſe men were grieved at it. It bred ſhame in the offenders friends, and hatred in his that was offended: in *Hippomicus*

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a desire of revenge; in *Alcibiades*, repentance: He goes to his enemies house, puts himselfe into his hands, confesses he hath erred, bids him take satisfaction. The offence which he had committed could not be excused, neither by wrath, for he was not provoked; nor ignorance, because he knew him: it was folly and contempt; he purged the contempt with the quality of the act; and the folly with the manner. The free putting himselfe into his hands, was the greatest satisfaction that could be given, being done willingly, not violented by any extrinsecall mover; nor troubled by any intrinsecall passion of fear; it loseth much of its efficacie, when it is done by compulsion. *Alcibiades* went not with any fear, but boldly, without being perswaded thereunto; more carefull to regain his lost reputation, or ambitious to increase it; than just to restore it to him from whom he had taken it. For the particular, it had been better if he had gone with a perturbed mind & will; by meanes of feare, he had shewed to have esteemed him more in the satisfaction, than contemned him with the offence. It was better for the publick that he should go of his own accord, because the repenting of the action being of its nature evill, he secures and warrants all; but by the fear of him that is offended, only those who may cause themselves to be feared as much.

Alcibiades

Alcibiades knew he had given the Citizens of *Athens* occasion to talke of him in serious matters, and to divert them (saith *Plutarch*) from those to pleasant ones, he cuts off the taile, eares, and nostrills of a very beautifull dogge which he had. It was not diverting, but deriving, and an ill deriving. The diversion of a thing is made while the matter flowes, and is undertaken on the contrary side. The derivation is, when it is already flowne, and another new one succeeds into the evacuated subject. *Alcibiades* action is of the same matter as the rest of his actions were, tho not of the same forme. It is like, and not contrary: The fluxion followes, and the subject threatens it selfe to be greater, making it selfe knowne to be full of fantasticall humours. His intention was not to blot out the remembrance of his old actions, but to renew it, loving to make himselfe be talked of, with a repon and fame of being extravagant. The doing of a semblable action, doth not cause the former to be forgotten. but rather calls it to remembrance, if not with more force, yet with more delight then it would do, if it were the same againe; because man oftentimes sheweth him selfe a greater friend to the resemblance, then to the thing it selfe, and willingly comes to the knowledge of truth by the meanes of falshood.

From

From hence proceeds the delight in hearing of Metaphors, seeing of Pictures, the representations of Mymicks, and Stage-players. What terrible beast, or displeasing carkasse, or horrible Monster can there be, but the picture of it will be delightfull? What man so deformed in bodily parts, and abominable in those of the soule, but a mymick imitation of him is pleasant? What mutilated, rough, lisping or stammering tongue and speech, but will be applauded in him that counterfeits it? And if any one enquire the reason of it, *Quintilian* would say it were, because man is an enemy to truth. *Aristotle* would say it is because he loves to learne, and when of himselfe he learnes the thing he hath conceived, he delights therein, as in his owne birth, a thing of his owne bringing forth: this delight he attaines to, in imitation, when it is represented unto him: because thereby he apprehends as it were by argumentation, the truth of the imitated Idoll. I confesse the thought is acute. And I question not but it is applauded. I doubt whether it be because it is good, or for want of a better. The understanding rejoyces not much at any small thing, obtained with small labour. *He* intends greater for himselfe, and with lesse delight. Peradventure he takes not so much pleasure in learning, as in the manner how, which

which is by the motion passing in an instant from the false object, to the knowledge of the true one. Hence proceeds the strength and powerfull effect, fetching its originall from a knowledge attained unto by circumstances. Hence comes the smiles at the meeting of a friend: Let *Aristotle* say what he will (in mine opinion) that sudden and great change, to which *Hyppocrates* ascribes so much delight, namely, from falshood to truth, and from the absence to the presence of the beloved object, is that which causes the rejoycing, which may be proved by this, that if it be foreseen, the rejoycing is not so great. But since *Alcibiades* his actions, which were altogether extraordinary, and we conjecture extravagant, what his inclination was, it will not be displeasing to search further into it. That Princes and Commonwealths may beware of such kinds of subjects, which use to usurp the liberty of the one, and cause the other to lose their dominions. There is great difference between acting of an extravagancy by election, and doing of it by nature, even as there is between a horses bound which he is taught by a Rider, and one which he naturally makes when he is madded. Sometimes it is fitting to have a subject of great worth come with some extravagancies upon this worlds theater, which making a noise may draw unto him mens attentions

attentions to behold this new beauty: It ſerves for a ſudden crack or clap to attract mens eares and eyes to the hearing and beholding of ſome great matter, which being diſtracted another way, they ſhould not peradventure ſee nor heare. Some actions alſo ſeem to be performed beſt, when they are done extravagantly (ſuch are the firſt rewards, and firſt puniſhments) to the end that being deeply rooted in the imagination, they may leave the love of vertue, and hatred of vice, for a long time imprinted therein; which are the columnes upon which ſtands the Fabrick of the world. Whereupon me thinkes that manner of bringing criminall men to their capitall puniſhment, which they uſe in ſome places to be very ſtrange, they carry them to dye ſinging with flowers, as it were in triumph, taking (as much as may be) away the feare, and horrour of death from them: Doing thereby great prejudice to two effects, which are the two maine ends and aimes of malefactors puniſhments, namely to puniſh their facts who have offended, and by their example to terrifie others from committing the like: they take almoſt quite away the force of the one, and very much ſweeten the other. But peradventure this cuſtome is not ſo hurtfull to Civill Art, as it is favourable to the Military.

But

But to returne to my purpose; The extravagant action, for the most part, findes applause, it brings novelty with it, it cheeres the mind, adds vigour to the body, raiseth up the understanding with the motion, and sodainnesse, and if it doth not give their Spirits their being, yet it stirreth them up to operation, and the more vehement it is, the greater force it adds to them, as experience daily sheweth us in frantick men, and that not without admiration. *How* farre different is this motion which novelty causeth in the spirits, and produceth mirth, from that which is produced by mirth? It is more meeke, and hath operation for its end, imagination for its guide, and the understanding for its meanes: Whereas the other moultered being vehehement, runnes and flyes without stay or guide. I know not whether it be because in griefe the spirits retire to the heart, and in great joyes they dilate themselves, that those two passions produce such effects, as some men are of opinion. Or whether by the raising, abating, repose, motion, sometimes lost, sometimes unruly. In my conceit all the dammage proceeds from their ceasing to operate: in feare, because they lose their motions; in joy, because they alter it; in the latter, the imagination gives them motion, and doth not set them a working; in the former,

it takes away both motion and operation. Man dies through griefe, becauſe the motion of the ſpirits ceaſes, without which they being unable to work, and being not fed, eaſily diſſolved, by reaſon of their ſubtileneſſe they are ſoone corrupted. What good find we in weeping? It doth not vent our griefe, but it is a ſigne that the ſpirits begin to worke, and that they have operation enough to ſuſtaine them. A man dyes for joy, becauſe in that act, the imagination in an inſtant moves all the ſpirits with a ſwift motion, and then loſing it ſelf, forſakes them, and gives over letting them to work: whereupon they being in a moſt violent motion, and having none to direct, reſtraine, or curbe them, finding every thing abandoned, fly out and evaporate that way which they find open and enlarged. Nature ſeldome gives ſo ſtrong an affliction or griefe, but that it is accompanied with ſome ſmall parcell of pleaſure. Or any joy ſo ſincere, but that it hath ſome kind of mixture of diſtaſte: to the end, that in one part there may be ſomewhat to excite the ſpirits, and in the other to ſuſtaine the imaginative faculty: that it may not quite abandon it ſelf to the overthrowing of the *individuum*. Even as the heaven works and operates in this lower world by its motion, and light, ſo do the ſpirits in the body. The world would

would periſh, if it did not receive light and motion from the heavens; and the body, if it had not the like from the ſpirits. Finally, extravagant actions make ſo much noiſe amongſt People, that the entring into them, though it be with choice and election, and the proſecuting of them, though in a fitting and convenient way, brings by the plauſibleneſs of them eminent danger along to engage man in the perſiſting in them, though they be evill: And if this be ſo in him who operates by election, how will it be in him that operates by nature. They have hot and ſubtile ſpirits, the heat cauſeth them to riſe, and mount the ſubtileneſs to penetrate: they have acute ſpeculation, and ſurpaſſe others in underſtanding: their conceits are not common, but oftentimes monſtrous. It is likewiſe ſo with the forming power, when it works upon hot and dry matter; for being carried on by heat it grows up in height ſo much, that wanting it afterwards to ſpread abroad, it frames along, but not great body; becauſe ſlenderneſs takes away the proportion which is needfull for a true and perfect greatneſſe, Heat alwaies puts forwards as much as it can for the advantage of ſublimeneſs; it never turnes back to reflect whereby it endammages Prudence, which needs ſome coldneſſe to examine that which drineſſe hath penetrated, and in caſe

caſe it find it not ordered and ſetled, may correct, change, or forſake it. The actions of ſuch an underſtanding ſhall alwaies be great; ſometimes good, and ſometimes evill: Going alwaies upward, and never reflecting upon what is paſt, they will be great by nature, but good by accident: An exquiſite temperature for a ſpeculation which is above us, unfit for practice amongſt our ſelves, and every way dangerous to introduce erroneous opinions, which will be very hurtfull, if they be put in practice.

Alcibiades being admitted to the government of the common-wealth, ambition leads him to encounter with *Pheaces* and *Nicias*, who were the moſt powerfull, with an intent to make himſelf greater.

Becauſe the world ſhould not be idle, Nature hath ſcattered amongſt mankind Emulation and Neceſſity, Gaine and Glory: he that hath not theſe laſt two can hardly ſet forward to action, becauſe the deſire of knowing truth which is in all men, moves them to ſpeculation, before it employes them in operation. True it is, that to keep the affections of both in a kind of moderation, ſhe took care that ſmall gaine ſhould ſuffice to ſatisfie Neceſſity; and little glory to overcome Emulation, ſhe making her ſelf the meaſure of the one, and appointing

Equality to be the meaſure of the other. When man thruſts on his deſires to immoderate things, he ought not to complaine of that nature which made him, but of that which he himſelf hath made; becauſe that having overcome the Emulator which ſhe had given him, and being grown up above the ſtate in which he was borne, he ſhould find reſt, and want an object to ſpur him on any further, if he did not frame to himſelf a new one. A deſire of little, proceeds from nature, and from us comes the not being ſatisfied with much: And ſeeing ſhe could not with this Law ſtay the courſe of humane ambition, ſhe hath broken it in ſuch manner, that though it go on *in infinitum*, yet it doth it by meanes of ſmall and *finite* objects. Thoſe who from treading upon the duſt, have raiſed themſelves to trample upon thrones, have by the way found many objects; in the attaining of which they have beleeved that happineſs to conſiſt, which they have not found even in the laſt object when they have attained unto it. Verily it is ſtrange that Man, who in this world, hath no object (be it never ſo great) which attained unto can content his deſire, ſhould think he can content them with leſſer, when he doth but contemplate them. The one proceeds from the naturall anxiety of overtopping his Emulator, the other from framing

ming a new one to our ſelves in what ſtate ſoever we be; thence it is, that a new happineſſe gives content at the firſt, untill we find in it ſomewhat to emulate or to envy, which never failing, the deſire likewiſe of growing greater never failes; which commonly aiming at ones equall, or him that is next before him, comes one way to be ſhort, and the other way infinite. I confeſſe, Nature ſometimes brings forth (but very ſeldome) ſuch magnanimous breaſts, who ayming at a higher degree then that they were born in, do at the very firſt propoſe unto themſelves that object, which is higheſt & furtheſt from them. So a Souldier of the meaneſt condition, fixes upon a Generals place for his ſcope: and ſuch motions, though they ſeeme contrary to them which I have ſpoken of, yet they are not ſo: The diverſity conſiſts not in the ſubſtance, but in the manner, taking the dead and not the living for objects, and alwaies an equall if not him that is, yet him that was ſuch: falling into imitation of them, who were of a meane eſtate as well as they, and from thence either by valour or vertue were raiſed to high degrees. He is unfortunate that is borne thus, unleſs he become very happy; For either he lives deſpairing in a continuall affliction, or raſhly caſts himſelfe into ſome manifeſt danger, being not ſtayed nor appeaſed with that de-

ceitfull, yet profitable, hope of an approaching happineſſe. *Heroes* are indeed framed out of ſuch conſtitutions, if valour be not wanting, or Fortune averſe. There is difference in a Travellers pace, when he ſees his place of reſt farre off, and when he is cloſe by it. One way muſt be taken to attain to a thing, as a *medium*, and another way to come to it as an end. He that hath attained to it, if he will make uſe of it for a *medium*, having aimed at it as an end, many times quite deprives himſelfe of the uſe of it. Whence comes, that many having attained to ſome reaſonable degree of felicity, ſtriving to riſe to an higher, have overthrowne themſelves quite; for of neceſſity changing their end, they muſt change all; and in changing, it is eaſie to come to ruine.

Alcibiades ſpurred on by ambition, no ſooner is admitted to be one of the Senate, but he ſtrives to become great, and make himſelfe *reſpectfull* by contending with great ones. Power deſerves this name, not onely becauſe it may doe what it pleaſes, but alſo becauſe it may hinder others from doing the like. The one lightens the heavieſt Scepter, and the other makes heavy the lighteſt chain. The forbidden thing ſeemes beſt for this purpoſe, and it is ſo, ſeeing that the attaining of it frees from the bond which tied the freedome of the will. Hence it is, that the

the manner of introducing a law by example, is farre more excellent than the doing of it by punishment or penalty. Hence proceeds, and hath its originall, the hatred which Potentates (though they be not offended by him) beare to him that is greater; and the rage which causeth them to turn the world up-side-downe to over-throw him, under the false pretence of a lost, or endangered Liberty; as if not onely the not being free, but also the possibility of not being so, were slavery.

This name is ill understood, and ill used. Slavery it selfe doth not take away a mans freedome: the wise Servant is freer than the foolish Master. Liberty and necessity are not inconsistent: An action done through outward violence, though it be not of free will, seeing he hath not power to doe the contrary, yet it may be a free action, seeing that both will and understanding concurre therein; and therefore those shall be free subjects who frame and levell both their understandings and wills to their Lords. From this spring proceeds the great worth of that man in Gods eye, who endures troubles and sorrows, by reason that oftentimes a forced and constrained act, which hath no merit at all in it, becomes free and meritorious. And this is (or I am deceived) a better grounded, and more effe-

ctuall reaſon then *Seneca's*, where he intends to prove, that a wiſe man is uncapable of becoming a ſlave; becauſe that working along with the current which runnes with the actions of the underſtanding and the will, hee alwayes freeth himſelfe, and findes reſt in all things. *Socrates* would not be defended, his Reaſon was, becauſe hee would dye free, and not forced. But becauſe men of this conſtitution, and marked with this Noble Character, are very rare (by an unknowne motion of Nature, which in its actions is a longing deſire and anxiety to preſerve the freedome of will) domination is hatred. And thence it comes, that he who is mightieſt, either in Citie, Senate, or Court, wounds the eyes of him who comes newly thither with ſo much force, that it imprints thereon a dolorous character. If he meets with an unadviſed hatebrained man, he openly oppoſes him, and declares himſelfe to be his enemy: If with a ſubtile one, he makes himſelfe his companion, and choaks him under colour of friendſhip. The one is like the Summer heat, which gently diſperſeth the naturall heat, with another ſemblable to it. The other like a Winter cold, with its contrariety, oppreſſes it. The firſt way is hard to begin well, if he preſently gets not the upper hand: the ſecond to end, if he do not attaine

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at all to it. The operation by way of ſimilitude, findes leſſe reſiſtance, becauſe it ſeeks onely free paſſage, and not the ruine. That by contrariety findes a greater, becauſe it aimes onely at annihilation: And therefore the water is eaſily overcome by the aire, and hardly deſtroyed by fire. *Cæſar* had three great enemies, *Cato* totally oppoſite; *Pompey* his ſemblable, and *Brutus* mixt. *Cato* gave him occaſion of ſhame, not of feare; *Pompey* went neare to overthrow him; *Brutus* killd him with being ſemblable to him, but could not overthrow him by his being different. But if *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and ſo many other men of worth and valour, happily came to be great, by becoming friends to thoſe who were greater. How can *Alcibiades* his way be commended, who went about it by oppoſing them? Thoſe *Romans* found the great ones divided, the *Athenian* agreed and united. Where there is partiality, or faction, it is beſt to become a friend; and an oppoſite where there is no enemy. It is too hard to fight againſt two, or more, if they be oppoſites; in Phyſick, Moralitie, or in Policie, if two unite againſt him that ſets upon them (which comes ordinarily to paſſe) makes the iſſue of the undertaking impoſſible.

The want of the chiefe inſtrument, namely, diſcontented perſons, makes the begin-

ning of the enterprize hard. And in ſuch a ſtate of affairs, though you make ſome ſuch, yet they doe not long laſt ſuch; becauſe that he who diſcontents himſelf with one, quickly is contented with another. The enmity of great ones makes a man to be eſteemed generous, and is the true way, either to riſe or ruine quickly. It is difficult to enter into it, without loſing ones ſelf in the very firſt ſteps, but if thou get but a little way on, thou wilt ſoon have a companion, and find help. Every one applauds thee, becauſe a new valour cauſeth as much admiration, as a new ſtarre doth gazing. Envious men aſsiſt him, becauſe they are aſhamed to yeeld; the offended, becauſe they ſeek revenge; the diſcontented, ſatisfaction; and all in generall, becauſe they unwillingly bow to that great one; and being brought under, they rejoyce when thy finde one that will not bow to him. They take heart from the example, and favour him as one that ſhould free them from ſordid ſlavery and abject ſuffering. They are deceived in beleeving, that if they make him ſuperiour, they can without any reſiſtance, bring him againe to an equality. But if they were not deceived, and did believe they rather change, than take away their bondage; yet they would aſsiſt him. They do not much hate, neither are there ſo many diſcontented at this

this new valour, becauſe it is more innocent. Envy is not yet come in, and the change of domination is oftentimes judged to be a kind of liberty.

The paſsing of the diſeaſe from one part to another in a ſicke man, gives ſome hope of recovery; it ſhewes that Nature is yet ſtrong, and the humour not ſo ſtubborn, or ſo ſtrongly knit together, but that it may be looſened and extirpated. For a ſubject to attain to be the greateſt man in the World, in a Citie, or in a Court, is not ſo hard a matter as for one to keep himſelfe ſo. He that is growing up, is helped on, he that is growen up, is abandoned, and left to himſelfe; and every one becomes an enemy to him that is decaying.

It is ſo eaſie a matter to cut off a riſing power in its beginning, that if man had not a naturall inſtinct to help him that is growing up, none would become great: And it is ſo hard to bring down him that is gotten up, that if nature did not likewiſe incline man to deſtroy him, greatneſſe would ſtill remain in the ſame place. In augmentations men are never quiet, untill they have brought the Subject to the higheſt pitch: when they have brought him thither, they never reſt till they ſee him decline: And when he is declining, untill they have ruined

him. Actions which are done in favour of him that riſeth, in hatred of him that is riſen, in damage of him that is falling, though they be never ſo well meaſured by underſtanding Politicians, yet nature makes them exorbitant, and without meaſure. Let the Pilot be never ſo skilfull, the currant of this inſtinct doth inſenſibly take off his hand, and in the end of his voyage brings him quite to another place then that whither he intended to come aſhore. The Heaven which is an univerſall cauſe; Nature which is fruitfull, Neceſsity which binds, Practice which teaches, Example which perſwades, men which encourage, Envy which provokes, frame a contrary to him.

If the heaven become particular, Nature barren, the bond ſuffer violence, ſwiftneſſe give not time to Practice, difference leave no place for example, nor ſuperiority for envy; either he ſtayes, or he changes himſelfe, or dyes, ſtayed, changed and kill'd by reſerving nature. God will not have us to enjoy ſo much happineſſe as we ſhould if the world were all one man's: For mens ſinnes it is he ſuffers ſo many Princes, and Common-wealths upon earth.

It begun when one alone commanded it, and will end when it arrives againe where it

it begun. And therefore it neceſſary, that he ſhould loſe him ſelfe that aimes at an univerſall Monarchy; either becauſe he cannot attaine it, and ſo he ſhall loſe himſelfe alone; or together with the world after he hath attained to it.

The Emulators, and Enviors of *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* greatneſſe, not knowing the hurt they did the Common-wealth, deſiring by Oſtraciſme, to baniſh one of them out of the City, which was manifeſtly to give it in prey to the other who remained, made choice for the ſetting forward of this buſineſſe of one *Hyperbolus*, a man ſo full of infamy, that he felt it not, being ſo covered over with it, that he had no ſound part left him by which he might judge of it.

Such was *Alcibiades* his circumſpectneſſe and vigilancy that he turned the Oſtraciſme upon *Hyperbolus* himſelfe. The people were aſhamed that the Oſtraciſme ſhould fall upon ſo infamous a perſon: being a puniſhment which made a man ſufferable, and almoſt to be deſired: its reward being to be thereby declared the beſt man, and therefore after that time it was no more uſed, and it was very fitting, that law which had begun with the beſt ſhould end with the worſt.

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Excellency or perfect goodneſſe, ſeemes to be an unfortunate thing. In Phyſicke *Galen* ſaith, it is not to be found. Hyppocrates if he grant any ſuch thing, doth preſently againe diſallow it. In policy they will not admit of it amongſt formes of ſtate, unleſſe it be tranſitorily. A Common wealth baniſheth any thing that reſembles it; a Tyrant kills it. In humane actions they call it an enemy to goodneſſe; nature is ſometimes blamed as ignorant, becauſe it cannot reach to the making of it up: and ſometimes they accuſe it as envious, becauſe after it hath begun it, it cuts it off green. If it belonged to the body, Arithmetically there were no place to receive it. If Geometrically, no ayre whereby it might breath, no food to feed upon without offending it. If it belong to the mind, it muſt of neceſſity be excluded out of the Commonwealth. The excellent and perfect one is not yet come upon earth; and he cannot be a fitting Citizen of any other; therefore it muſt either grant him the command over all, or kill him. When *the perfect one* came into the world and was borne amongſt us, he would not accept of the firſt, becauſe his kingdome was not of this world; and he came for the latter: Scarce was he borne, but the Tyrant ſeekes to ſlay him. Scarce is he knowne, but the Tribes cry him

up

up King; and the rulers crucifie him. Man is borne to iniquity, ſaith *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, and this doth not proceed ſaith he from the duſt, from which ſpring the ſenſes, for then beaſts alſo would be wicked. Not from the ſoule governeſſe and guide of the body, ſay I, for then the infant, and the mad man would ſinne. But from that which moves the underſtanding and the will, by St *Paul* called *Spirit*, by the Philoſophers *Minde*, and by us commonly *Reaſon*. The child becauſe he wants it, receives by that defect more ſecureneſſe then Man. The mad man becauſe he hath loſt it, hath an advantage above the wiſe man. The one cannot ſinne, the other can not chuſe but ſinne. To be great in heaven, we muſt become as the little ones of the earth; to be wiſe, we muſt become fooles; yet with this difference, that where they do not ſinne through defect, we ſhould not ſinne thorough vertue: and where they doe not undeſerve wanting the uſe of reaſon, wee ſhould merit in rightly uſing it. This food, this heavenly Nectar, if it meets with a cleere and reſplendent mind, doth feed, and elevate it wonderfully, if an impure, and troubled one, it doth above meaſure offend and depreſſe it. He which is beſt, be it either in the *ſpecies*, or in the *individuum*, if once he begin to be bad, becomes the worſt.

worſt. Angels are worſe then *Men*, *Men* worſe then *Beaſts*. Amongſt Angels, he that was the greateſt, amongſt men, he that is the beſt; the beſt & moſt excellent is onely contrary to the worſt, and the beſt onely can attaine to be worſt. This poſſibility was the guilding which the inventers of the Oſtraciſme gave malice. They covered the vice of envy, with the vertue of providence. But it is not a vertue when it is overmuch, it is a vice, and the leſſe it reſembles it, the more it is ſuch. It ſhews ill in Gods ſight, as if man did put his whole confidence in himſelfe, and none in him. Of this Tyrants are framed; For this warres ariſe, and with this the world is pull'd off of the hinges. How many men are dead, by preventing future things, and by phyſicking themſelves with prevention? How many Cities, Provinces, and Kingdomes have loſt themſelves to prevent a future thing, which was not, nor would not have been. I would liken over much Providence, to the Judiciary, but that is more harmful', more raſh, more uncertaine: and worſe; becauſe it cannot be hindred. Thou ſhalt indeed find ſome that have bin killed by a Tyrant, by reaſon of what the Aſtrologers adviſed, and the ſtarres threatned him. Other ſome that have undertaken great, and new things, perſwaded thereunto by the happy influences

fluences of their births. Theſe are but ſome, but their number is infinite whom providence hath cauſed to be kill'd or ſpurred on to new buſineſſes. Both go on in divining future things. But providence is the raſheſt, becauſe it drawes the principall out of it ſelfe, and the other ſeekes it in the ſtarres, where he thinkes the Creator hath placed it. They are both falſe, Aſtrology leſſe falſe, becauſe it makes uſe of celeſtiall things. Providence more falſe, becauſe it is grounded upon terreſtriall. God is not pleaſed with man who remits all things to him; and is diſpleaſed when he remits nothing at all to him. Seldome will he operate without man, and never likes that man ſhould operate without him. The one is tempting of God by obliging him; The other is a provoking of him by refuſing to be obliged to him. This moſt vile Law was ordained, by Ignorance and Malignity, the Nobles, the People, Ambition, Jealouſie, Envy, and Feare. The People ſeeke after ſecurity, the Nobles after honour, and both with their private paſsions overthrow the publick weale. A ſubject of great worth is ever hatefull to his equalls, but not alwayes diſtruſted by his inferiours. If it were poſsible for him to free himſelfe from envy, he might eaſily free others from feare. The People love him, and exalt him while

while they beleeve he may profit or at leaſt not endammage their ſecurity. The Noble alwayes hates him, becauſe he is alwayes a hinderance to his honour, and being aſhamed to ſhew his envy ſo naked and plaine, he cloaths and covers it with feare, to imprint likewiſe in the Peoples hearts this his diſſembled and feigned character. It is not withſtanding a feare in both of them, though it be not a vice in both; in great ones it is a feare of not loſing their glory, in the meane ones their liberty. And if the People be permitted to oppoſe him who takes away their liberty, why ſhould the Noble be denied the oppoſing of him that takes away his glory? Peradventure it is becauſe the one is aſſayed directly, the other reflectively. Liberty cannot be defended, but onely by directly oppoſing him that ſeekes to intrappe it; Glory may be maintained by getting before him, who diminiſhes it. The way to great actions would be loſt, or they which attempt them would loſe themſelves without attaning to them, if the oppoſing ones ſelfe to him that tramples upon him did not not bring blame and infamy along with it, and the ſurmounting of him praiſe and honour. Envy which reigned in us, one part of the world more than in *Greece*, ſometimes baniſhing worthy and eminent, ſubjects

ſometimes

ſometimes hindering them from attaining to their aimes, ſuffered not that noble and excellent Country to obtaine any great conqueſts, whereas the Roman Commonwealth in a ſmall time attained to the univerſall Monarchy. The Grecian valour was great, but inferior to the Italian; the Italian wits were eminent, but not equall to the Grecian. In the one the braine was greater then the heart; in the others the heart greater then the braine. Where the underſtanding ſurmounts valour, there is moſt envy, where valour outgoes the underſtanding, moſt emulation.

The one vilified ſeekes by ſubtilty to bring downe him that is grown up above him; the other encouraged by valour ſeekes to overcome and ſurmount him. Envy (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) growes from the ſimilitude; I ſay moreover, that it growes like a plant from its ſeed, and as man from humane ſeed. The ſemblable cauſeth great delight, and is not parted from without much diſtaſte, unleſſe it be done willingly to increaſe, or at leaſt not to diminiſh it, which will be when it happens to decreaſe, if not really, yet in conceit. The firſt effect that it produces, meeting with a breaſt not quite oppoſite to vertue, is Emulation, which prickes on the deſire to goe forward. Not to get away from him who is gone beyond

him

him that which he hath gotten, but to attaine himſelfe to the getting of the ſame. If he doth not attaine to it, he oftentimes proceeds to a deſire to have the other want it, and then th' emulation becomes envy, which if it remaine in him, in a ſhort time provokes him to wreſt it from him, and turnes to rage and hatred.

And this is a vice, proper, and peculiar to mans nature; Horſes and Mules to which are likened the worſt of men are not ſubject to it; nor the good Angels, to whom the beſt and moſt excellent men come neere, no nor the Devill himſelfe, who amongſt all bad ones is the worſt. It is much that one degree onely which diſtinguiſhes us from our equall, by reaſon of his, or our owne advancing, ſhould move the paſsions of joy or griefe with ſo much violence, and that many degrees, when they carry our ſuperior farre up above us, or raiſe our inferior after us, doe not produce the ſame effect. Peradventure theſe, though they increaſe, yet they doe not goe out of the latitude of the Spheare. The difference is in the more, or leſſe: The motion is an alteration, but an equall cannot move to ſtep forward, but preſently and in an inſtant he becomes a ſuperior.

He makes no motion, but it is generall,

no

no difference but ſpecificall. If motion be the cauſe of joy and griefe, and the greateſt and moſt ſuddaine motion cauſeth the greateſt; how ſhould the growing at diſtance, and advancing from equality, ſeeing it muſt be a ſudaine act for defect of latitude, and great, by reaſon of the alteration of the ſpecies, but produce Joy and Griefe in an eminent degree?

This law was defective in the manner of putting it in execution, it was by the peoples particular votes, not diſgeſted or conſidered upon by conference: Every one in particular ſent *Hyperbolus* into exile; All joyned together were aſhamed of it: It was not the whole commonalty that exiled him; yet was it they who blamed the exiling of him. The whole, to be more then the parts, requires an union; if that failes, it will not take effect, if it divides, it corrupts. It loſeth its name, and alſo its vertue. The voyce of this community united is called Gods voyce, of each one in particular is like the devills. *Plinie* wonders that ſuch a joyned multitude ſhould daunt an Orator, who would ſpeake boldly to any of thoſe men particularly. And why doth he not alſo marvaile, that a bundell of rods cannot be bent nor bowed, and each ſeverall rod may with eaſe be broken to pieces.

Strength

Strength is a vertue of union, moſt manifeſt in the peoples unity, which reſembles the Divine; where it goes with violence to overcome, it breakes and ſhivers whatſoever oppoſes it; when it is bent to judge, it ſtrikes terror; when united together, it powres forth prayers; it forceth (I had almoſt ſaid) the very heavens. Man is affrighted, aſtoniſhed, trembles, and loſes himſelfe in the preſence of the object which he loves, at the Kings feet to whom he bowes, at the ſight of the people to whom he ſpeaks: not for any thing that he ſees which is humane, but for that is repreſented to him, which is Divine: hee diſcovers in his beloved a beame of Divine beauty, in the Aſſembly of the people, Divine unity; in the Kings greatneſſe, Divine Majeſty and Ompotency.

From this manner of voting likewiſe proceeded that dangerous errour of little Secreſie: They ſhewed the blow before they ſtruck, whereas that ſhould have preceded ſwifter than a Thunder-bolt, not onely the noyſe, but even the flaſh. It is too dangerous to ſtartle and affright a ſubject whom wee may have cauſe to feare. The intereſſed party, be they never ſo wiſe and cautelous, ſtands alwayes vigilant and attentive to the dammage which may befall him.

If

If too much care be the daughter of Sulpition, it is the enemy of Truth: It troubles the imagination; and this being troubled, though it doth not make that to be, which is not, yet it makes it seem to be so. And what man is so circumspect, that in the passing of moneths (I will not say of yeares) can be so wary in his actions, as that none of them shall give an extreame watchfull man some cause to doubt or mistrust?

The next degree to watchfulnesse, is Suspition and mistrust: it would be farre better if it were to trust and beliefe; Hee that trusts, is bound presently to secure himselfe of the subject. And because he gives him not time to move if he is a traytor, or to become one, if he be not so, he commonly attaines very well and hapily to what hee intends.

Hee that mistrusts before hee can resolve himselfe, endeavoureth to finde the truth; and let him goe about it as warily as he can, when he comes to use the meanes, he discovers his intention, the subject that perceives it, presently finding himselfe lost, if hee hath not a truly Christian breast, or is not a most subtile Morall Philosopher, who to avoyd the staine of sinne, or note of infamy, will rather than become guilty, expose himselfe to the danger of dying innocent, will hold it a kinde of pusilla-

nimity

nimity not to die guilty. And if he be a Traytor, he will at that very instant discover himselfe; if faithful, he will become treacherous. The former hath the greatest advantage, who hath the meanes already prepared, and presently comes to a tryall, finding the other unprovided, wavering, and doubtfull, between credulity and distrust: Whereas the other taken upon a sudden, unprovided of meanes, and wanting time, which he cannot take, unlesse hee likewise give it the other, is often oppressed before hee bee prepared, in preparing himselfe, or at least ill prepared.

To take away and banish one onely, was not not a right Cure, it rather increased the Disease. To take away that humour out of the Body, which is not offensive, and leave that which is offensive, is (according to understanding Physicians) one of the chiefe causes of malignant Feavers. If a Subject in a Citie, exalt himselfe above the rest, what can bee done better, then to give him an opposite? And what worse than to remove him from him? If hee doth not frame himselfe, or Nature give him one, let Art bring him in one. The Ostracisme banishing one onely, did let the other loose, made him Lord of

of the Citie, and gave him opportunity to become a Tyrant.

Two great diſaſters (according to Aſtrology) make one good Fortune. Phyſicians doe not take away the *Bilis*, or *Choler*, where they feare the *Dropſie*, nor the *Pituita*, or *Flegme*, where they feare a *Plethora*. Contraries mingled, doe not hurt the Body, which they overthrow being divided. While ſt *Cæſar* and *Pompey* both remained in *Rome*, the Common-wealth did not periſh: The ones going out, and the others remaining within, ruined it.

To take away the beſt, was as much as to let the worſt looſe. In this *Ariſtotle* himſelfe was puzzled, hee would not likewiſe have him to remaine in the Citie, where hee cannot place him but as King. He ſends him into the Woods, he compares him to *Iove*, he would not have man worthy to bee his Companion, and yet hee makes him a companion of wild beaſts. Hee was peradventure deceived: In deſcribing an excellent man, hee ſeemes to attribute unto him the worſt of vices. If hee bee ambitious, or fooliſh, hee is not excellent: if hee bee wiſe and modeſt, he will ſhun and refuſe, not affect the Scepter; he will ſubject himſelfe to the Lawes, as if he had need of them; to

Magi-

Magiſtrates, as inferior to them, to obedience, as if he were not borne to command. It is contradictory to doe ill, and be excellent. The inſtance which *Ariſtotle* gives of a voyce exceeding the reſt in a quire of Muſick, if he doth not take away diſcretion from him that hath it, the voyce will not take away the harmony from the reſt. That of one member bigger then another, hath nothing to doe with *goodneſſe*, but with *Monſtruoſity*, it is as farre from Excellency in goodneſſe, as it is neere exceeding badneſſe. He that gave the humors of the body for an example, where if one exceeds the reſt, though it be a good one, yet it diſeaſes the body; he miſtooke the greateſt for the beſt, and tooke the humors for the naturall heat, which be it never ſo great, doth not burne nor conſume, but foment, preſerve, and vivifie. He were but a very ignorant Phyſician that would expell it, and ſo is he a Politician, that will baniſh the beſt out of a City. Some cannot ſuffer the beſt, nor endure the worſt; They feare one for their owne ſake, the other for the Common-wealth's; They envy the former, and are aſhamed of the latter. They ſeeke after indifferent ſubjects, which may not diſhonour the Publicke, nor put them in danger: and this they cannot attaine unto, becauſe nature produces

but

but few such, and taking away the best, they raise up a worst, as out of a mixt, if the predominant be taken away. The *Cretans* proved it, they no sooner had banished the best, but they found themselves in the hands of the worst. What is the driving of a great man out of the Citie, but adding the adherence of strangers, to the applause which he hath gained amongst the Citizens. *Cæsar* would not give Senators leave to travell long out of *Italy*, when they were once above twenty yeares of age. *Augustus* not out of *Rome*: *Tyberius* kept them also within the Citie, whom he had chosen for Governours of Provinces.

Politick Writers have blamed the letting of a subject grow great in the Citie, more than the banishing of him when he was grown so. *Aristotle* defines a remedy from the Lawes, others seek it from Art. They keep them idle who haue any signe of great worth: they transplant those who have gained great reputation in one place, into another. If riches gained it him, they cause him to spend them; if valour in warres, they call him home to the Citie; if he be reputed of great understanding, or rashly valiant, they employ the one in affaires which may over-throw him, and expose the other to dangers, in which he may hazard the losse of himselfe; If he attained

thereunto by being officious, and ſerviceable; they deny him thoſe boones and favours which he asketh. And generally upon the leaſt occaſion, they puniſh them all moſt ſeverely. But all this hath more outward ſhew than ſafety. There is neither Law nor Art can hinder the riſing off him, whom Nature doth, even from his birth, accompany with ſuch beames of happineſſe, that either he findes no reſiſtance, or forces his way through, whereſoever hee meets with it; good things prove excellent to him, and he can turn bad into good. All kind of food ſerves him for nouriſhment, and each poyſon is a remedy to him. Theſe kinde of balls, the harder they are daſhed againſt the ground, they higher the bownd up towards heaven. *Herod* the great, by *Hircanus* his firſt perſecuter of him, got the Tetrarchy; by the ſecond, the Principality; by the third, he made himſelfe Lord of his own native Countrey, by the aſſiſtance of the *Romanes*. Occaſions oftentimes will not permit them to be kept idle. If the tumults of *Naples* had gone forward, the *Spaniards* had determined to ſend the great Captaine thither again.

The buſineſſe of *Portugal* would not ſuffer the Duke of *Alva* to be idle, though he were in priſon. And the warres of *Germany* forced the *Militia* to be returned in *Waldeſtein's*

deſtein's hands. Tranſplanting, and changing of place, gives way for the gaining of new reputation, and doth not diminiſh the old. It had not availed *Tiberius* to have tranſplanted *Germanicus* out of the North into the Eaſt, if his death had not helped him. By great expences a man, for the moſt part, gains applauſe; want of money, doth not endammage a ſubject that is in credit, and few great ones have loſt themſelves thereby. *Cæſars* friends were deceived therein: for he then became Lord of the Commonwealth, when they thought his debts would have ruined him.

To call one home from an army to the City, is as much as to adde the peoples favour to that of the Souldiours. *Domitian* finding he was not thereby able to deale with *Agricola*, was conſtrained to make uſe of poiſon; and *Tiberius* met with a Subject that would not part from it. To put them upon buſineſſes in which they may loſe their credit, or endanger the loſing of their lives, is a matter full of hazard and adventure. Wiſe men will come off in their affaires well enough, howſoever the buſineſſes proſper, and valiant men for the moſt part overcome dangers be they never ſo great; building their greatneſſe, where others had prepared a precipice for them: It ſo happened to *Saul* with *David*, and to *Se-*

leuous with *Ingurth*. To deny them those boons and favours which they crave, and oppresse their friends, moves them to indignation, and doth not abate their power. The Prince of *Orange*, and the Duke of *Arriscot*, have testified that sufficiently. *Tiberius* increased the peoples love to *Germanicus*, more by persecuting him, than if he had cherished him. If it fell out well with *Agesilaus*, touching *Lysander*, it was because the goodnesse of the Subject helped him. To punish, and not utterly extinguish great ones, is a great error in policie: small errors in them, ought to be connived at, and great faults punished with death. There is no *medium* to be used towards such, between cherishing and killing. If *Astiages* in stead of killing *Arpagus* sonne, had put the father to death, hee had not lost his Kingdome. And if if *Cræsus* had taken away *Demetrius* his life, when he put out his eyes, he had not lost himself. Let it be as it will, certainly it is barbarous & inhumán in Comon-wealths & Princes, to make laws to hinder such as undertake actions worthy of everlasting fame, and a glorious memory, that are valorous and vertuous, both in being and acting, when they should rather enact such, as might encourage men thereunto. He that invented this most wicked Law of *Ostracisme*, was an enemy to God, Man, and Nature, and a ruiner of all good Lawes.

It

It aimes not so much at destroying of tyranny, as at the exercising of it with security, whether it be in Prince, Nobles, or People, taking away honorable and regardfull subjects, whose valour and worth are the Sanctuary to which wronged subjects flye, and whose presence is the onely curb to make Princes and Senators ashamed of committing wickednesse. There never was any Common-wealth more abounding in worthy men than that of *Rome*, while it flourished; nor that made better use of them than it did, while it stood uncorrupted. The people did with extraordinary applause, honour a Citizens great vertue, and punished with most severe justice, the defects of the same man, if he chanced to alter his nature. When they perceived *Melius* to aspire to tyranny, *Manlius* to attempt it, & *Appius Claudius* to have already attained it, it did not help *Melius*, that he had freed them from famine, *Manlius*, that he had vindicated them from slavery, nor *Appius*, that hee had been popular: But they threw two of them downe headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock, and conspired the death of the other.

In the good time of the Common-wealth, eminent vertue was much esteemed, and not feared; because that as soone as it aimed at sinister ends, it lost together with its name, both favour and

plause. And whereas it was reverenced whilest it was sincere, when once it came to be counterfeit, it was condemned. The greatest dangers it ran it selfe into, was, not for having kept their best Citizens amongst them, but exiled them: As when *Coriolanus* came to conquer *Rome*, and *Furius Camillus* was not there to defend it.

Let Common-wealths be so framed, that all the parts thereof may be contented; and let Princes rule their Subjects with a Fatherly affectiō, that no desire of change may grow up; and in so doing, they both may cherish and preserve subjects of great worth. They shall enjoy their vertue, while it is upright, without feare; because it will be easie to chastise and punish it, if once it grow corrupted.

Alcibiades, to make use of his Talent, and satisfie his unlimited ambition, and desire of glory, hinders the *Athenians* peace, and goes to Warre with the *Lacedemonians*, puts his native Countrey in hazard, and brings it to a precipice. Some subjects are born in Cities, with most excellent inclinations and endowments. Amongst those that want them, as well as amongst those that are full of them, some know it, and some are ignorant of it. One that is good for nothing, and knowes he is so, doth no hurt, because he will not adventure himselfe; neither could he do any great hurt, if he

he did not know himself, so he were known; for then he would not be put to any tryall. Indeed, if he be not known, there may bee some danger in him; yet if hee doth not overthrow the Common-wealth; or the Prince, upon his first tryal, before a second they will be undeceived, and know what he is. He that hath excellent parts, and knows not of it, is the better: and he that hath them and knowes it, oftentimes proves the worst. And the later is like a medicine, wch finding no excremēts to expell, and break its force, joyns with the humors, & finding noithng to heal, corrupts the former. The former is like Nature, which shewes not her greatest force, but upon greatest occasions. One like flame set to wood, having taken power by the matter, bold and confident, shewes out his form. The other unseen, like fire hidden in a stone, wants the collision of occasion, to manifest and disclose it. The one ambitious and proud, to passe on *a potentia ad actum*, hunts after occasions, many times he takes them great, and sometimes they present themselves so, sometimes they become so, although they were once but mean, whereby he loses himselfe, and oftentimes brings the ruine of the State along with his own. The other being humble, seeks not after them, and if they joyn with him, they draw forth his good parts by the power of the matter.

He is the ſecurer by ſo much, as there is difference between the taking and ſeeking after occaſions. The one raiſes himſelfe with the greatneſſe of affaires, the other is depreſſed: one endangers the State, the other drawes it out of dangers. He that doth not know his owne worth, dies unfortunate, if occaſions do not ſeek and finde him out: ſois he that knows it, if he doth not finde them. In States that have no occaſions, it were good there were no ſuch men; or if there be, that they would not grow ambitious. The ſoile which brings forth ſuch trees, if it have not roome wherein they may ſpread abroad their branches, muſt ſeek and get ſome: ſo muſt leave a way open for violence and fury to vent it ſelfe at. For if they finde no way, they will make one; and there is a great deale of difference between a way rent open by ambition, and one framed with prudency. If a hammer worketh out a doore, way, or paſſage in a wall, it doth it with deſigne and intent. A piece of Ordnance ſhakes, and oftentimes throwes the Wall downe, but will never make a regular overture. Nature ſpake to *Scipio Naſica*, obſcurely; It ſhewed him that it was not good to deſtroy *Carthage*; hee underſtood the thing, but not the ſenſe and meaning of it: hee thought *Rome* would have need of it, to keep Emulation and Feare alive

live in the *Romanes* breasts, that they might not lose themselves in idlenesse and carelesnesse. But it did want it indeed, because occasions of imployment should not bee wanting to the proudest and ablest Nation in the Universe, whose desire of glory was unlimited, and had no stay for its unbridled valour. And because these occasions were not wanting for a great while after (whatsoever *Nasica* prognosticated) the *Romane* Comon-wealth, survives long after the ruining of *Carthage*.

Spain wants not ambitious Subjects of great excellency, and of most able valour; but it thrives by them, because it abounds in occasions, sometimes by Sea, sometimes by Land; being by reason of the large extent of its Dominions, alwayes envied, feared, and assaulted.

France, while it wanted this good fortune of having occasions proffered it, and yet abounded in such subjects, was forced to disquiet and trouble it selfe, or others. But it is farre better to recommend the cure of such a plague to the Lawes, which are alwayes alive, than to divert it with occasions, which faile either soone or late in every Dominion, bee it never so great and large.

The desire of worldly glory, is wise mens madnesse, and the fools wisdom, and

beguiles all. It is an excrement, but beneficiall; a Mercury, which laid upon the breaſt, without doing any hurt, defends it from the moſt peſtiferous qualities with its own venemous one. The *aſylum*, and laſt refuge of Reaſon, which being to the uttermoſt weakned and tired by oppoſing the ſenſes, hath its recourſe thither, to avoids its utter deſtruction. A vertue, which leaving its mildneſſe and ſweetneſſe, and becoming ſoure, turns to vinegar, rather dead than corrupted.

If Reaſon fights againſt it, it is in a faire combat; if it be conquered, it ſaves its life, though it be taken priſoner. It troubles man, and he troubles the world if he finds it quiet; and if he finds it troubled, he ſuffers it not to periſh. Nature hath invironed Glory with a hedge compoſed of moſt ſharp thornes of troubles, full of grief and tormenting labours, to hinder man with the difficulty, from that which he could not perſwade him to with reaſon. And not content therewith, becauſe he ſhould not ſet upon it, ſhe taught him, that it might be obtained by ſlighting and contemning it. But deſire of this glory being once poſſeſſed of man, makes him ſeeme to be no more fleſh and blood, but turned all into ſpirit. Hee encounters with heat and cold, hunger and thirſt, fire, ſword, and bullets, and even death

death it ſelfe, to not die and live glorious in mens memories; and ſtill when he attains to it, he remaines rather undeceived than ſatisfied.

True it is, that hereby the ſuperior part ſheweth its odds and and advantage, whereby it ſurmounts the ſenſes: and drawing ſuch an one out of darkneſſe, like a lamp of true Glory, ſhewes how ſmall the reliſh of the ſenſes is in objects, in compariſon of that which a glorified underſtanding extends, and communicates unto them. But what ſeeks man with this longing deſire of worldly glory, but divine glory, by an erroneous and falſe way? In ſtead of placing it in the ſeeking out of Gods Truth, Goodneſſe and Bounty, he places it in the emulation of a great one.

This is not following him that calls us, it is treading of our enemies foot-ſteps; it is renouncing the being GODS true Iſſue, and transforming our ſelves into the Devils adopted children.

It is corrupting the beſt deſire that Nature hath given us, to bring in the worſt inſtead of it. It was the vanity of the firſt ambitious Creature, who inſtead of turning towards the Divine Eſſence, to contemplate it, turned towards its greatnes, to go beyond it; and being troubled, (as ambitious creatures uſe to be) on the one ſide with

with passion, and on the other side a little perspicuous by his knowledge; finding by the one, that he could not set his Throne above the starres, and obtain superiority in heaven, he suffered himselfe to be drawne another way, and set it on the side of the North, to attain to it on earth. But God to turn man away from following such perverse footsteps, abased Worldly Glory, and greatnesse: to make even the most humble upon the Earth, the greatest in Heaven, and the most despised, the most glorious.

Socrates in a Battle saved *Alcibiades* life: A little while after *Alcibiades* saves his. Man is the most mutable of all Creatures, because being composed of most mixts, hath most things in him to change. He hath vertue from Nature, but that passes not the first brunt, nor yet comes to it, if it bee preoccupated. Hee that blames the rendring of benefites as soone as they are received, makes the way to Ingratitude easie.

It is temerity to delay or hinder Nature when it operates well, hoping to doe a better cure with the ignorance of Art. There would not be so many ingratefull men, if they had not time to become ingratefull. Few are vertuous by habit, and few but are so in a kind of Fit, and upon a sudden.

To

To take away from this all the praile, is not peradventure warrantable, if it be not a habituall, it is a naturall vertue, if it be not greater, yet it is more generall: it is good also, if not better, it is greater, more vehement then regulated. He that doth a good turne is so affectionate in the doing of it, that he would doe more, and if occasion served, he would multiply it: He that receiveth it is so tender, that if he could in that instant, he would render it greater. The heate being past, the first alwayes increases the accompt, the second diminishes it.

The one doth not pay it wholly, the other doth not cancell it, though it be paid. He that did know these vehemencies, would also take notice of the motions, and sometimes he doth; but because discourse must proceed to attaine to it, it is not attained because the motions are past. The wise mans worth consists not so much in knowing the time, as it doeth in foreseeing it, because that the passage from knowledge to operation, which requires time, puts him beside the time.

The People construed *Alcibiades* vices to be vertues, sometimes the resemblance caused them to erre and beleeve them to be such, because they themselves were likewise such, and did erre therein. All that is done

done conformable to its *Genius*, it applaudes, and whatsoever is contrary, be it good or evill, it likewise abhorres. Love also on the other side did deceive them, a passion which makes a thing seeme what it is not, and much more doth ignorance doe it, which makes one indeed to beleeve it. The People want the true measure of vertue, which, is mediocrity, and they doe not penetrate into the substance which is to operate according to right reason: they are not informed of the circumstances, how much, when, and how.

They make use of excesse for a measure, of quantity alone for a circumstance; of the matter, for the essence, and judge the greatest action to bee best; Hence it is, that the rash and foolehardy man is rather applauded then the valiant, the prodigall rather then the liberall. The little difference that is between vertue and vice hath also a share in this mistake, where vice is accompanied with ambition; because, that though the subject suffer himselfe to be hurried away by the senses, to vices, ye he so carries himselfe therein, that amongst the vices now and then shines forth some act (not through vertue, but through vehemency) sometimes of liberality, sometimes of magnanimity, sometimes of fortitude, sometimes of affability.

And

And ſometimes alſo in the midſt of incontinency (a thing which ſeemes very ſtrange, and yet is true) he ſhewes ſignes of great continency. The roote is not really in vertue, as if it were not yet utterly extinguiſhed; it is in the embers of it, heated by the vice of ambition.

A great vertue is a ſpeciall meanes to have a great vice born withall, and pardoned, like to a glance of light which it brings along with it, and with the ſplendor makes the judgement to erre: there can be no eminent underſtanding without ſome parcell of folly. It is ſet downe by wiſe men for an infallible axiom. The reaſon of it is not eaſily given. There bee underſtandings which ſeeme to be great, and are rather unbrideled and wild ones. They draw men away before they can follow them. They run and in a manner flie, moved by a heate, which doth not onely warme, but enflame and ſet them on fire: the Carrier is ſwift. It is a horſe which runnes looſe, and hath not wiſedome ſitting upon him to governe and guide him.

This kind of underſtanding is peradventure one of thoſe which *Seneca* calls uncontinent, and which St *Paul* deſires might be ſober: Attributes which ſeem metaphorical, and are moſt proper; becauſe that manner of

of ſpeculation, is a note of the manner of operating, ſeeing that the ſame heate which let looſe the reines, to the higher part, ſets the lower alſo at liberty. And as the unbrideled underſtanding, goes where it ought not to goe, ſo the ſenſes ſet at liberty, run whither they will.

Men who cleerely ſee the defects of the inferior part, and in the ſuperior can diſcerne nothing but what is great, they judge that ſubject to abound in many vertues, and many vices, when that is alſo a vice in him, which ſeemes not to be ſo. Other underſtandings there be, which are ſo attentive and fixed upon ſpeculation, that being wholly ſet upon it, dividing in a manner the ſoule from the body, raiſe themſelves with the former, and grow careleſſe of the latter; and whileſt they endeavour to ſhew the greater part to be man, they diſcover the other to be beaſt. To this ancient Poets had a relation, when they repreſented Satyres, their upper parts like men, and the lower like goates; Whilſt the underſtanding is buſie in ſpeculation, the ſenſes runne and skip about like goates, having none to direct or rule them.

Meane underſtandings doe not raiſe themſelves ſo high as to make ſuch a diviſion and whereas the other are men, and beaſts, theſe are men-beaſts: and if they do

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not attaine to be ſuch eminent ſubjects, they doe not likewiſe come to be ſuch great beaſts. Behold whence proceeds the inequality of eminent underſtandings, becauſe that, according to *Plato*, they have a parcell of madneſſe in them. *Alcibiades* was one of the firſt ſort, and ſo was almoſt all the *Heroes*, *Diogenes*, and moſt part of the *Philoſophers* were of the ſecond. I know not by what ſpirit *Galen* was moved, when inſtead of defending ſuch a mans knowledge, he defended his folly and incontinency.

Alcibiades adviſes the Athenians, to make warre againſt the Sicilians: He had no other reaſon to doe it, but his owne deſire of glory, and to ſurpaſſe his emulator. He that ſuffers himſelfe to be overcome by this paſſion, is never quiet, nor ſuffers any one elſe to be ſo. The appetite of the taſte already ſatisfied with food, runnes not to the deſiring of new, though better; and if it doth runne to it, it is not nature, but intemperancy that perſwades it. Having received it, into the ſtomack, it is ſatisfied; if it remaines there too long, it loaths it: if it quickly digeſts, he returnes to deſire more.

The appetite of glory goes likewiſe to the object, although miſtaken; Scarce is it touched by naturall heate to digeſt it;

but

but poiſon-like it ſtupefies the underſtanding, which ſcarce diſcovers it, but it loaths it. If one ſhould take it away from it when it hath had it but a little while, it would againe returne to deſiring of it. But thoſe things which ſerve for an object to humane ambition, have volatile ſpirits ſoaring upon the ſuperficies, and not fixed in the ſubſtance: the underſtanding quickly takes them out, and ſodainly conſumes them.

The thing remaines, not living, but a carkaſſe; which becauſe it remaines, is not deſired; and becauſe a carkaſſe doth not ſatisfie; ſeeing that nature for a ſhort time is contented with a little, and is not for ever ſatisfied with an infinite. It is a great dammage, to not enjoy at all the glory one hath acquired, and worſe to keepe it but for an inſtant, the one incites to greater things, and the other oftentimes hinders from attaining them.

Unfortunate man, that cannot be content with a little, unleſſe novelty trouble the diſcourſe, nor with much, unleſſe rage and fury take it away. All is but madneſſe whereof the one is bound faſt, becauſe it laſts, the other would be bound, if it laſted. That which the wiſeſt man in the world cannot doe, a mad man ſometimes doth it.

One

One doth not content himſelfe with the ſtate wherein he is, the other is contented with that which he hath not: becauſe hee is deceived by a fixed deſire which doth not ſet the defect before him, he imagines he hath it as he deſires, and hath not ſo much free underſtanding left, as to reaſon upon it, how it would be, if hee had obtained it, and ſo to refell the deceits of imagination, with arguments of reaſon. Nature would ſhew, that worldly happineſſe doth not conſiſt in having it, but in the manner of conſidering; that he onely hath it, who contemplates things in their inſide, and poſſeſſes in that which he gaines, the good which cauſed him to deſire it.

They both erre, the mad man with delight, the wiſe man with trouble; one in beleeving he hath obtained wherewith to content himſelfe; the other becauſe he knowes not that hee hath obtained it.

The Athenians make *Alcibiades* head of the enterpriſe, which himſelfe had ſet forward, and perſwaded them to. An ordinary way of proceeding both in Commonwealths & Principalities, becauſe other men will not accept of that charge, as another mans buſineſs. Or peradventure, he is judged fitteſt to be employed in it, as having moſt

interest in the good issue of it, or as better informed of the meanes to attaine unto it. I know not whether those influences, which made the counsell acceptable, cause the person also which gave it to be applauded: or whether it be, because when any one gives consent to a thing, the understanding being rather violently drawn thereunto, then perswaded to it by reason, he beleeves there is in him that perswades somewhat which is above reason; and therefore without any further enquiry, he will recommend the issue of that which he had voted, not knowing what it was, to him that perswaded him to it. Yet notwithstanding, the Athenians considering *Aleibiades* to be rash and violent, to restraine and mitigate these qualities in him, assigned him *Nicias*, a wise and staid subject, for a companion. Because wise men presuming upon their own wisdome, not knowing how little it availes in sublunary things, will thereby direct those things also which they have begun through the impulsion and violence of fate. Or because we being composed of a nature which being an enemy of simple and unmixt things, hath every thing mingled in it; cannot be quiet our selves, untill wee have produced a mixt; But whatsoever be the cause, the issue thereof which hath alwayes bin unfortunate, should make us

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not to adhere to any such manner of opinion; which is either ill argued upon by the understanding, or little favoured by heaven: What can bee gotten by it, but the depriving our selves of good, forsaking that advantage which by each quality, several, might be obtained.

The staid and prudent man, causes the rash and hare brained to lose that fortune which assists and favours bold men: The rash man spoyles the prudent mans councells and advices, not suffering them to come to maturity, but preventing them with fury and violence. The primary qualities of the elements are qualified, controuled, and corrected by themselves: mans qualities remaine entire; they are continually justling & encountring one another, but never joyne nor qualifie themselves. The rash man gives an onset, the prudent man will not second him: One goes as it were with feet of lead to engage himselfe, the other flyes into an engagement with wings of fire: The prudent man thinkes he shall utterly lose himselfe, unlesse he forsake his companion, and sometimes goes back, when by going on, he might have conquered. *Tacitus* relates the vertues and vices of *Mutian* and *Vespasian*.

He doth not say they would have made a good compound, being in two severall subjects,

jects, but if they had been both joyned in one: he will have a mixt made by Nature, and not by Art, where the parts grow neere, but doe not unite, or at least not mix: each holds & keeps its inclinations to its proper ends. And though the first vertues, from which the accidents have their originall, be sometimes dashed to pieces, yet the last remains intire, so that in operating they frame as many characters as they are themselves, always different, and for the most part contrary. The knowledge of the first qualities, and ignorance of the second, loses both the Physitian and the patient: if we did not want this knowledge, the medicines which were most mixt, would be the best, for our body is more mixt then than any other, by this means bearing the worldly imperfection, to make a difference between it and heavenly perfection: for there the most pure and simple are the best; and here the most mixed and mingled are excellentest.

The *Athenians* not content that they had sent *Nicias* & *Alcibiades* to the enterprise of *Sicilia*, doe appoint *Varianus* also for that service. Two contraries had need have a third, to the end, that if they cannot be united one to another, they may be both joyned in him; which he may easily attain to, if he participate of both their qualities. So the aire, by meanes of its heat, is united to fire;

by

by means of its moiſtneſs, to water: water by its coldneſs, unites it ſelfe to the earth: by its moiſtneſs, to the aire: From whence growes the rawly-compoſed order of this great vniverſe. But becauſe *Varianus* was not ſo, but was likewiſe full of rage & boldneſs, this ſeemed to be rather a putting the enterpriſe into the hands of temerity, than ſecuring it, unleſs that were the way to ſecure it. A prudent man is not fitting to undertake bold attempts, which are beyond Reaſon, they are to be atchieved by the hands of a daring fierce man, or not at all. Prudence hath meaſure for its actions; temerity is unlimited, in uſing it ſomtimes are performed extravagant & unlookt for atchievements. He that makes uſe of it, hath an advantage to aſſault by way of ſurprize, to amaze, to diſorder, to confound, binding the underſtanding either to loſe it ſelfe, or take a ſudden reſolution in a thing which was never diſcourſed upon. It runnes violently upon ſome inacceſſible way, and finds it without defence, becauſe every one ſtands armed againſt Wiſdome, and lies open to Temerity. Therefore wiſe men for feare of this, make a golden bridge for him that flies, and Conquerours make a way for them that runne. One may erre (it is true) by temerity, but one ſhall ſometimes doe the like through prudence.

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The wise man casts him selfe into the armes of reason, the rash man puts himselfe into the hands of Heaven: And because things have seldome that end which other men judge, hee erres seldomer that hath not discoursed upon affaires, then hee that hath judged of the events. The understanding is within us, imprisoned in the body, and intangled amongst the senses; Nature is without, loose, free, and not subject to erring. The Philosopher defines Temerity to be an act without reason. Hee might peradventure be deceived: An unfortunate act is out of the bounds of reason, but a fortunate one is above it. An impulse of nature, which alwayes aymes at truth, is more available then a motion of the understanding, which discourses upon likelihoods; and if nature erres, it is because one making no difference between our particular nature, and the universall, beleeves that impulse to be superior to reason, which is without any, as if the senses, and the heauens did move in the same manner. Others, confiding too much in their owne understanding, hold all that to be a defect in the inferior part, which is dissonant from the superior; as if there were not a supreme which they sometimes doe not know, and sometimes oppose erring for the most part, by fearing not to erre. It is too hard for the

the one to forget that they have understanding and for the other to discern the impulses of a not erring nature, from the provocation of a corrupt one.

Alcibiades was noted for, and accused of impiety, as if totally irreligious in some actions, he had made a mock of the Gods, and had by night cut off the heads of all *Mercuries* Statues, which were set up in divers places of *Athens*. A wise man among the Gentiles, wept at the ignorance of his times, in which they worshipped so many, and such ridiculous Gods: And raising himself, by the power of his understanding, to a more sublime Sphere, easily penetrated into the knowledge of one onely One. A Subject raised to a high Fortune, seeing those who were but men, deified for their worthy and eminent actions, sometimes esteeming himselfe equall, and sometimes superior to them, aimed at and many times attained to, adoration as well as they. The simple man living in the publick credulity, blindly believed whatsoever his ancesters had set before him. But he that was not so weake, as to condescend to falshood, nor yet so wise as to know the truth, made use of others credulity, to believe nothing.

The Philosopher was of opinion, that such as were raised by fortune, were endowed with piety and obsequiousnesse towards

the Gods, above other men. And yet *Tacitus* teaches the contrary, when hee sayes, That miseries are tolerated, and prosperity corrupts us. And if you look into Holy Writ, you will there finde sentences much differing from *Aristotles* opinion. There you shall read examples of Kings, both of the twelve, and of the ten, and of the two Tribes, who erred in their greatest prosperities; most of them having before with much vertue and constancy endured afflictions.

Many Subjects set worldly glory before their eyes, & many the Divine: you shal see both of them afflict their bodies to attain to it, thinking to make the said body to enjoy it, after they have attained it. But because the Divine is out of this world, and the worldly in it, the one doth not unchaine and let loose his senses, but when he cannot sin; and the other sins because he hath let them loose.

Man is not unhappy onely, in respect of his not finding really such an object as may content him; but is more infortunate in regard of that little time, during which, novelty makes him beleeve that he hath found it. It is not so much as to fix him in content, and yet sufficient to make him fall inconsiderate. But if he should withstand the first assault of Novelty, hee would have much

a-doe

a-doe to avoid that of Greatneſſe: For, being arrived to higheſt degrees of good fortune, and finding great oppoſition in the advancing, and not loſing the deſire of a new delight, almoſt deſpairing to attain to it with ſatisfaction of the paſſions of the mind, glutted with the preſent, he hath recourſe to the ſatisfaction of the ſenſe, and caſts himſelfe headlong into intemperancy. Plunged in this, becauſe he will not croſſe his preſent pleaſures, with the object of future torments; whereas before he ſought the falſe immortality of his name, he ſhakes off the true one of the ſoule and (as much as in him lieth) takes away the being from that God whom he before call'd upon for aſſiſtance, becauſe hee would avoid the feare of him when he is wrathfull. Let him doe what he will hee cannot avoid the having his ſweet delights made bitter by that which is not in his power to ſhun, and that which he imagined his bruiſhneſſe would bring him to; namely, the torment of conſcience, and horror of annihilation.

I approve of *Pythagoras* opinion better then of *Ariſtotles*; One ſaid, That fortunate men were moſt pious and religious, The other attributeth the ſame to unfortunate ones. Theſe, when they feele themſelves running into miſeries, implore the Divine aſſiſtance to keep them from them; being fallen

into them, they pray him to remove them: and when they are come to deſpaire of any redreſſe in this world, they pray him to reward them in the other.

Some preſumptuous, ignorant, and brutiſh man, will in this caſe (I confeſſe) blaſpheme God, and grow outragious, as if he were not able to inflict any greater puniſhment upon him; or call him unjuſt, as if he had already done more to him, than he ought to have done; or to deny him, not knowing this to be a warning to him; or being aſhamed of being puniſhed. But few and fooliſh are thoſe which attain to ſo much impiety.

There is no wretched and afflicted man, but will ſeek to be comforted; and what comfort can there be in this wretched man: but that of attaining happineſſe in the world to come? How then againſt both Reaſon and his own intereſt, will he deny ſo great an aſſiſtance to himſelfe, by believing and working evill? ſhould not deſpaire then rather cauſe him to ſeeke for no eaſe in this world, and caſt himſelf wholly into the hands of God, to comfort himſelfe with the future hope of the beatificall viſion? The ſpirits of a man puft up with happineſſe, are troubled like unto ones who railed high above the earth, is aſtoniſhed and giddy, and for the moſt part falls down

precipitously. Hee findes his friends false, deceiving him with flattery, or with obsequiousnes corrupting him. Occasions of sin superabound, voluptuousnesse and all manner of delights incline him to it, and then what marvell is it if he falls? and for the most part irrecoverably, every thing helping him to fall, and nothing to recover himselfe. Nothing comes under the unfortunate mans roofe but truth, there are none to flatter or be obsequious to him, his spirits are cast down, and rather subject to waste of themselves, than to be corrupted: the temperature becomes melancholy, it afflicts, dries up, mortifies, and hurts every thing but the understanding; so that the inclination to sin, failing with the occasions makes the way easie for the maintaining of Vertue.

There can be no Reason given of an ill ordered and corrupted Common-wealths actions, they are directed by ignorance and malice: if they hit right, it is by chance. I acknowledge it was a manifest folly to undertake the *Sicilian* Warre, and to send three Captaines thither to manage it, and that it was malice to call home *Alcibiades* after hee had happily enterprized it: But whether it were good to send him away from it accused, distasted, and not appeased, nor absolved, I know not. The common-wealth of *Rome* used to doe so, and the

Monarchy of *Spain* hath followed it, and both have done it with prosperous successe. Nature sometimes produces Traytors, occasion often, & Princes most commonly. Nature imprints a Character almost indeleble; No good turn, nor deed, will serve against it; imprisonment hinders it, and the Axe cancels it. The occasion yeelds facility, which powerfully accompanies the desire of domination. The Prince either with suspitions obliges to procure safety, or with injuries revenge: revenge is sometimes produced by wrath, sometimes by hatred, and sometimes by mans reputation. Wrath cannot be discounted of, because it is without discourse, its end is to doe evill: it runs inconsideratly through the meanes to attain to it, and for the most part is sorry afterward that it hath attained it. Hatred governes its actions with understanding, though corrupted by passion. It is like wrath in the end and aime, but different in the meanes to attain to it: it discourses upon the meanes, and without ever repenting, joyes that it hath attained it. Reputation some desire to vindicate it, and some to revenge themselves for the prejudice done to it. The latter cannot be done without hatred and wrath; the former must be void of both: the ones end is to endammage; the others, though it seem not, nor indeed be not

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the ſame; and that it is many times done by way of benefites and good turnes, yet cannot be attained to without doing of dammage. The one goes againſt the State and the perſon; the other in the States behalfe: and if it be againſt the Perſon, it is no further then to diſcredit it. Revenging ones ſelfe is not a recovering of reputation, but a ſatisfying of two moſt wicked paſſions Wrath & Hatred. Vindicating of it recovers it with ſatisfaction of the beſt and nobleſt of paſſions namely, Ambition. What joy and triumph, thinke yee, entred into the breaſt of *Furius Camillus*, when he overthrew the *Gaules*, who had beſieged the Capitoll, and freed from ſlavery thoſe that had baniſhed him. And how could he more gloriouſly revenge and vindicate his reputation, than by ſeeing ſorrow and repentance written in the hearts of them who had wronged him. That *Roman* ſpake fooliſhly, who being called home from baniſhment, and ſeeing an Army put into his hands by thoſe who had perſecuted him, ſaid, that as ſoone as he met with the enemy, he would fight with him; becauſe that if he were overcome, he ſhould work a great revenge by loving his Army; and if he overcame, he ſhould gain great glory. If he revenge himſelfe of him that took away his reputation, he doth not revenge nor vindicate it.

He vindicates *it* when he takes no revenge. But this most noble seed springs up onely in magnanimous & generous breasts, and they are seldome found but in well-ordered Common-wealths & Kingdoms. The aire, and temperament sometimes produce rebellious men, but the quality of the forme much more. It was hard to finde a bad Citizen in *Rome* while it was well-ordered, and a good one when it was corrupted. The goodnesse of the government causes affection to the publick; the badnesse ruines it; yea, and changes it into a private. Those Princes which have Armies, habituated to fidelity, need not feare either an offended or an ambitious Commander. He will not hurt, if he beare a noble minde, nor cannot if he be treacherous. If a Kingdome bee not tyrannicall, nor a Common-wealth corrupted, they shall oftentimes meet with such as *Furius Camillus*, and the Duke of *Alva*; and with ill natures exalperated with a *Waldestein*, and a Colonell *Henry de Berg*. This latter willing to betray the King of *Spain*, was forced to make him lose the *Busse*: first to goe to *Velue*, and there doe a greater service, if our men had knowne how to make good use of it.

Waldestein plotting to betray the Emperour, even the very first hour that he had trusted him with his Army, after he had offended

ded him, could never bring his evill intent to passe; but was alwayes constrained when he was unwilling to doe one good office, to perform another, and oftentimes a better, and at last discovered himself without doing any hurt. But such a Prince, or Common-wealth, is not onely secure from the wrath and hatred of Commanders, but even from thir ambition, the fidelity of the Army being an obstacle to both; which thing may be thought hindered *Prospero Colonna*, and the Duke of *Parma*, if they any way attempted such businesses (which I will not affirme) in the State of *Milan*, the Kingdome of *Naples*, and the *Low Countries*.

Alcibiades resolved to flye to the Lacedemonians, hearing the report which was raised against him in *Athens*; and would not beleeve he could dazell the peoples eyes, or charme their eares, with beauty or eloquence, unprofitable weapons against wrath and fury; as ancient Fables have sufficiently set downe in the case of the most beautifull and eloquent *Orpheus*, slain by the enraged Priestesses of *Bacchus*.

Those, saith *Plutarch*, who loved *Alcibiades* a Citizen, hated him when he was in the Army. The object present is farre different from the absent, the thought

upon, from the ſeene. One cannot ſo perfectly conceive it abſent, but that it changes when it is really ſeen; and being changed, it muſt alſo alter and trouble the underſtanding; and this altered and troubled, will neceſſarily have a different operation.

The face of man hath ſomwhat of Divine in it: A Prince denies it his ſubject, to take away that pleaſure from him, for the puniſhment of ſome fault. One enemy will not ſee anothers face, to avoid that delight which is contrary to hatred. Some things are written in a letter, which would not be ſpoken by word of mouth; and ſome ſpeak largely in a mans abſence, who in his preſence will ſtand mute: and if they doe perſiſt in their former ſpeeches, it is not by their own abſolute will, but becauſe they are obliged to doe ſo through ſhame of being reputed malicious and puſillanimous; or are forced thereunto by a violent and fiery carreere, which reaſon is not able to ſtop in the midſt of its courſe.

The law of Nature, which binds a man to love his neighbour; the reſemblance, which doth not, in a manner, ſuffer one to abhorre him, doth either diminiſh the hatred, or increaſe the *Syndereſis* & connexion. Wherefore ſome, becauſe they will not lay down their rancor, or will not have their conſcience diſtracted, ſhun the ſight of that face

face which would pacifie their minde, if it were humane, or pierce their heart though never so savage. Those qualities which belong to the exterior senses, require the presence, to move the subject effectually: for absence either much diminishes, or quite cáncels them. The understanding would participate of those delights, & in its contemplation of them, findes them full of imperfections: He represents these imperfections to the inferior part. If the object be present, for the most part he findes it blind, or not willing to see them. But if it be remote, and gone out of the Sphere of the senses, though not out of that of the understandings, they easily open their eyes to receive the light of truth. But if the qualities concern the soveraigne and chiefe vertue, as eminency in valour, or learning, presence abases it; where the understanding and the will turn, one to that which is good, and the other to that which is true; that being neither true nor good, which is not beautifull, it runnes towards the beauty: and because it considers it in that manner as it usually receives it, it erres in the conceiving of it, taking the features and beauties of the body, in stead of the beauteous endowments of the mind. The error lasts with the absence, presence undeceives; and when it doth not finde the subject, (which

(which happens so for the most part) such, as it had conceived it, it will perswade the understanding, that the subject is neither the most valorous, nor the most learned; that he is neither true nor good, because he is not the greatest, nor the fairest. He that operates being dragged along by a passion, either figures it greater, to make it excusable, or feignes another to away what is shamefull in it. If he errs through love, he describes it extream; because others should judge nature to bee oppressed, and not inclined. If he operates through envy, he cloaks it with feare, and makes shew of a faint heart, to conceale a malicious one; and will perswade he followes Nature, which obliges one to defend himselfe, when he goeth against it, in hating that which is good. But he doth not hate it, before he defames it. Envy and a worm resemble one another, they close with the best part of a fruit, or of a man, they stop not before they have corrupted the one really, and the other imaginarily: and whereas the worme feeds and rests in the corruption, envy is fed and tossed up and down by that which is imagined.

Evill is hated and not envied; goodnesse is not hated, but envied. Rancor is without any reall object, it runs towards goodnesse, but towards that which is apparent

rent, and not the true, it ſees vertue and valour in him whom it emulates. Firſt, an equality ſeemed inglorious to him; now inferiority appeares ſhamefull; if it be in a great ſpirit, it ſtill goes on in emulation; if it be in a faint heart, it embraces envy, a vice inſeparable from puſillanimity, it looks upō the honour which the other gets, and that which himſelf loſes. If he imagines him to be an enemy, proud, raſh, and preſumptuous, he beleeves nothing can give him better content, then to overcome him: deſires nothing more than by advancing his own Trophee, to abaſe and bring him low, and employes his vertue and valour in nothing elſe. But if afterward he ſees him before his eyes, beautifull, eloquent, valiant, & affable, not boaſting of his valour, but moderating his vertue, and reaſſume the ſame poſture in which he was by nature ſet, and forſake that which he had fabricated to himſelf; It is impoſſible for him to retain his hatred; becauſe qualities, though they be naturall, if they meet with a contrary that is greater, in its preſence they muſt receive it, though the form drive it out altered, but not corrupted. Modeſty moderates envy, but doth not extinguiſh it. Miſery turnes it into compaſſion, and eminency into amazement.

That Propoſition of the Maſter, that hatred is irreconcilable, ſeems directly oppoſite

to

to the other proposition, That the cause ceasing, the effect ceales; and yet they are both true. Hatred and love peradventure cannot be framed in us, without the help of Nature. The freedome of will reacheth not thereunto, it may overcome it, but not destroy it; bridle it, but not change it: whence comes, that sometimes we operate with one, as though we hated him, and yet we love him; as though wee loved him, and yet we hate him. The causes of operations are externall, of passions internall. The change of qualities changes the operating; and that of the substance, extinguishes the being. And because it is thought that we have two Natures in us, one of Flesh, and the other of Spirit, and both of them in the same *Individuum*, the one may love, and the other hate, because *Love* and *Hatred* are not contraries, if they meet with two contraries; otherwise to love ones Neighbour, and hate sinne, could not consist together.

Alcibiades attires and cloathes himselfe with the *Lacedemonians* vertues, and will thereby perswade, that hee hath disrobed himselfe of all manner of vices. This Metamorphosis, though it last not very long is not used but by great understanding onely, assaulted by vehement passions of *Glory* and *Feare*.

Rome

Rome had at one time two Emperours, *Otto*, who was made in the Citie, *Vitellius*, who was ſet up by the Army, both of them vicious. The one preſently forſakes his old and uſuall courſe of life; the other followes it ſtill: *Otto* was wont to deny his own affections, to promote his intereſts, ſo that the power of commanding, excited and ſtirred up vertue in him: and in *Vitellius* it increaſed his defects. The former being incontinent, and ambitious; the latter, intemperate, and ſimple. *Otto* adventured to aſſume the Empire, becauſe hee could not live privat: *Vitellius* accepted of it, becauſe he knew not how to refuſe it; and not knowing how to ſeek after the delight of the underſtanding, abandoned himſelfe to that of the ſenſes. The *Romane* Senate was amazed at *Otto's* forſaking his vices, and at his counterfeited vertue. The ſame being done by *Alcibiades*, might have given the *Lacedemonians* cauſe of ſuſpition, if not of feare, ſeeing they might be ſure the vices would returne greater in bulk, and more violently, through the acrimony which they would acquire by being ſo long ſtopped and diſſembled. Even ſo it befalls him that thinkes to help a ſwift running ſtreame which overflowes his medowes, without turning it another way, only with making the bankes up, he may ſtay it for a while,

but

but on a ſuddaine he turnes it all upon himſelfe, and whereas before it would gently have overflowed his land, it beares down trees by the rootes, overthrowes buildings, and beats downe all that comes in its way, that oppoſition having gotten together a greater heape of waters, and made them more violently fierce. Thoſe that reſtrayning their paſſions, retaine & keepe in their ſmalleſt and meaneſt ones, if they did goe calmely along with them, they might in part vent out their evill *genius*, without expecting the laſt fury, and violence, which a feigned vertue being unabled to reſiſt, they blindly and furiouſly are precipitated in it. So had *Otto* done, if death had not prevented him; and ſo did *Alcibiades*, wickedly committing adultery with *Agis* the King of *Sparta* his wife. *Agis* was not very circumſpect, ſeeing he did not perceive, that ſome great end muſt of neceſſity be hidden under ſo great a change, which hee ought to beleeve had taken its originall from an unlimited ambition, and to miſtruſt that thereby and through his luxury, he would one day get away from him (two indiviſible things) his wife, and his kingdome: and indeed he got away the one, and in all likelihood laid a plot to gain the other, ſeeing he uſed that meanes to attaine thereunto, which others have

have happily put in practiſe to doe the like.

Firſt to make his valour known, then to publiſh the adultery, and finally to make ſhew that he contemned *Agis*, what was it elſe, then to endeavour to gaine his kingdome: inviting by this meanes diſcontented perſons to ſide with him, animating, and ſecuring them? But I know not whether *Tacitus* did well underſtand from whence proceeded that feare, when he aſcribed it to diſguiſed and cloaked vices, and falſified vertues. *Ottoes* vices were luſt, idleneſſe, and gormandizing, which were indeed to be wiſhed of him, yet not to be feared, if they had returned to him: Vertues though falſe carry for the moſt part their corruption within them, gliſtring and ſhining on the outſide, as if they were true and pure vertues, and are more pernicious to them that make uſe of them, then to thoſe for whoſe ſakes, and againſt whom they are employed. And howſoever, they doe leſſe hurt in this manner feigned, then an open, impudent ſhameleſneſſe in vices. The Senate (in mine opinion) ſeeing *Otto* thus plunged in paſſions, not thinkiug that he could leave them, though peradventure he might diſguiſe and alter them, feared leſt inſtead of idleneſſe, he would take delight in labour and affaires, and in ſtead of luxury

he would be filled with feare, and jealouſie, and through one take away the Magiſtrates authority, and through the other the moſt honorable mens lives.

There are ſome reſpects which bind mee upon occaſion of *Alcibiades* luſt, to ſpeake what I thinke of Princes ſoiled with ſuch a defect. If the good temperature of a man conſiſts in a perfect ſymmetry of the firſt elements, which blended together may compoſe a mixt, in which neither heat nor cold; nor moiſture, nor drought be prevalent, its quality will be lukewarme a meane between hot and cold, its operations moderate, it will cauſe the ſubject to be of a healthfull complexion, of calme ſences, indifferent, morall, no eminent Philoſopher, rather void of vices, then endowed with any eminent vertues. Such a man to be maintained in health, muſt ſtill lie under the Phyſicians hand; and the Phyſician had need to be an *Eſculapius*. I marvaile at one of the ancient Sages or wiſe men who calls ſuch a kind of man happy, yet ſayes at the ſame time, that this man muſt have his ſleep, his reſt, his motion his food, his thoughts, his breathing, all meaſured and limited ſo that he ſhall not have ſo much as a free moment left to himſelfe, as if happineſſe (according to *Mecenas* his diſorderly opinion) conſiſted one-

ly

ly in living, though moſt unhappy. This complexion is not to be wiſhed to a Prince, and if he had it, it ought not to bee maintained in him, ſeeing that to preſerve it, he ought to be wholly his owne, to become a ſlave to the Phyſician, whereas, a Prince ſhould never be ſo farre his owne as to make himſelfe a ſlave to his ſubjects. If then there be no ſuch temperament to be found, and if there be any ſuch, either it cannot or ought not be maintained, we muſt needs conſequently fall into ſome exceſſe, which may ſerve for nouriſhment, and roote both to vice and vertue; becauſe as *Iacob* and *Eſau* were borne both of one Mother, ſo frō the ſelfe ſame temperament may proceed both a great vertue, & a great vice. He that was of opinion, that there could be no great vertue in a man, unleſſe there were alſo ſome great vice, was not peradventure deceived, if he meant of a naturall inclination thereunto. And if any vice be a ſigne of a great underſtanding, it is that of luxury, which uſeth to be great, where it findes the fire of the *Flava bilis* or yelow choller, and the acritude of the *atra* or black.

We ſee that thoſe brute beaſts, which have moſt humane knowledge, and ſeeme almoſt to diſcourſe, as Apes and the like are exceeding luxurious, and that at all times; beyond the cuſtome of other beaſts.

And

And to this, peradventure, the ancient inventers of fables had a relation, when they feigned all the Gods much addicted to this defect of luſt, as the Poets alſo did their *Heroes*. If I were to frame unto my ſelfe a Prince according to mine owne mind, I would have him continent by vertue, and not by nature. For the naturall continency proceeds from coldneſſe of the temperament, and alwayes excludes acrimony, and coldneſſe without acrimony cauſeth ſtupidity, and not prudency, which requires melancholy; not the dreggs, but the flower of blood: not that which is borne *aduſt*, and carries imprinted in the acrimony of its aſhes, the character of the efficient, as the learnedeſt and wiſeſt men of the world have beleeved. And St *Paul* continually complains of the troub'es which the acrimony of the prick in the fleſh did bring him into. Luſt is alwayes bad for him that is ſubject to it, but it is not alwayes hurtfull to a Common-wealth. If it doth not paſſe from the perſon to the office, it is the defect of the man, and not of the Prince, ſeeing that in this caſe hee may be a good Politician, though a bad Moraliſt. There have beene ſome in our dayes, that have in their youth run themſelves a little out, in amarous paſſions, yet they have guided themſelves therein with ſo much prudency, that our

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Anceſtors would have termed thoſe paſſions vertues, as they did *Catoes* drunkenneſſe: And truely it is no ſmall matter for one that is irregular himſelf, to be continent, and to overcome that paſſion by which he is overcome. It is in a manner a freeing the ſuperior part from it, and confining it, within th'ignoble part of the ſenſes, and an abſolute way to make it appeare, that nature hath the predominance over evill. Then the Phyſician may ſtand idle, and adminiſter no Phyſick for feare of doing hurt. *Crudities* cannot bee ſtirred without doing hurt, and that which is concocted needs no cure. It is no great matter for a man that is free and looſe to overcome his enemy, but to doe it when he is ſhackled and bound, without unſhackling or unbinding, is very much. If it were lawfull for me to relate ſome things which have happened in our dayes, it would ſurely cauſe, ſuch as have too ſharply in this point touched the reputation of a Soveraigne Prince, and his favourite, to recant and change their opinions: they would find and heare ſuch things, that to admit of an extraordinary vertue, they would winke at a ſmall vice, judging it not to be a reall but a feigned vice, and rather an affectation, then a paſſion.

That cannot be a good horſe that hath not bin a croſſe Colt, but all kind of croſſe-

neſſe

neſſe in a Colt is not a ſigne that he will prove a good horſe. Some Colts will be bounding, leaping, and running, not to draw their necks out of the collar, or to ſhun their labour, but to ſhew their generous mettle, and ſpirit; to be ſportfull, and frollick, and not to refuſe the bit. And other ſome againe will uſe the ſame tricks out of a reſty and ſloathfull ſpirit, onely to ſhunne worke, and labour, and though a ſtander by can hardly find any difference in their motion, yet he that governes and rides them can eaſily perceive it.

The land which brings forth wild plants is not alwayes bad yet it is alwayes unmanured. A bad weed doth ſometimes betoken the goodneſſe of the land. Let it then bee lawfull for me to conclude, that great luſt is oftentimes a ſigne of a great underſtanding, and that amongſt the defects of a Prince, luxury is one of the leaſt, if ſo he doe in ſome part ſuppreſſe it, by not committing therein any violent or unjuſt act; and in all this, I meane of ſuch actions onely as hee commits in his youthfull yeares; Every one hath ſome defects which are proper to that age, as well of the body, as of the mind.

The Phyſician, whoſe worth wil not ſuffer any man to beleeve that he erred, was wont to ſay, that diſeaſes are moſt dangerous, when

when they come in unseasonable seasons: the malignity and greatnesse of them shewing it selfe in that, that the adverse season of the yeare could not suppresse nor controll them: And as a disease which comes in its proper season is least to bee feared, so is a defect which comes in an Age befitting it, lesse to be condemned. It is no strange thing that a young man should be given to Women, but it is to be admired that he should therein carry himselfe prudently: For prudency belonging not properly to youthfull yeares, especially where there is lust; wee must imagine that he who can counterpoise luxury in the Age which is proper for it, will extinguish it quite when he comes to riper years, in which he properly becomes prudent.

And in this case it seemes a chiefe Officer, or Favourite, ought rather to seek to cherish prudency in his Prince, than hinder his lust. For it being cherished and assisted, having gathered strength, will quite extinguish the lust; which being contraried and opposed, will alwayes increase. *Seneca* had an intent to doe so; but it did not take effect, neither could *Agrippina* doe it, and fell for want of prudency.

Every one knows the evill effects which an untimely correction produces. And a great Saint set down in writing, that sometimes

ſometimes it endangers the increaſing of the evill: And this is true not onely in thoſe who will not be overſwayed by any, becauſe they are incenſed to anger thereby; but in them alſo who intend to overcome themſelves, beeauſe they diſdaine to be perſwaded by others to that which they intend of themſelves to doe. A Painter whilſt he is limming, ſometimes leaves a fault in a place, and runs over the other parts with an intent to mend that error. He that ſees him worke (if he be a wiſe man) although he perceives the error, holds his peace, knowing the Artiſt to be ſo skilfull, that he both knowes it, and will mend it. If he be a foole, he points at it, and produces rage and diſdaine in the Painter, and ſometimes in ſuch exceſſe, that he leaves it unmended, and chuſes rather to leave an error, then to applaud an impertinency. And this is the reaſon why few Painters will admit any to ſee them worke, or judge of their workes before they be perfected: there being nothing more diſtaſtfull to a choice ſpirit then to have a fault ſhewed him, and be perſwaded to amend it, when he knew it himſelfe, and had an intent ſo to doe.

Alcibiades goes to the Median Court, and findes favour in the eyes of *Tiſaphernes*, *Socrates* was the moſt affable and courteous Gentile that was, *Tiſaphernes*, as Barbarous and

and *Alcibiades* gaines the love of both. We will say peradventure that he was of a temperate habit. Such a Subject (according to *Hyppocrates*) of such a temper, engenders with all constitutions, be they cold, or hot, moist or drye, because he corrects them all, if it be alwayes true in engendring, yet it is not continually true in loving. It is not sufficient that he can correct, if the other doth not desire to be corrected. He will hate him, if peradventure he preferre pleasure to profit, and whereas he should abhorre that contrary which is furtheſt from him, he abhorres that most which is neareſt, which is the fault of an erring nature. There can be no delight where there is no truth; he is deceived that sets it upon falsehood. The opposite contrary, because it is likewise a vice, rather confirmes then takes away the error. Trueth resides in the middle, whereupon some shunne it, because they will not lose their delight, to be undeceived.

The habit, which hath its distemperature from nature, loves its semblable. Nature cannot love its destruction, it would love it, if it loved the contrary. She hates it, because she is blind, because she would not dye, and yet it dies, and which is more, with it dyes the *individuum*. The habit, through a distemperate accident, loves its

contrary. In this case the interest of nature, and of the *individuum* are the same. That which happens in the failings of the temperature, happens also in the defects of the mind. If one be cruell naturally, he loves its semblable; if by accident, its contrary; From the first, proceeds he that runnes along with the passions; from the second hee that doth not restraine himselfe. The one loves vice, and hates the remedy, the other cannot endure neither the vice nor the remedy, But to go on from the temperament, to the influence of those starres which produce it; that which was loue-worthy in *Alcibiades*, might be thought to have bin caused by his being borne at that time, when the benigne starres of *Iupiter*, and *Venus*, shewed their fortunate brightnesse upon the Horizon, were it not that a violent death, admits of no fortunes in th'ascendent, nor the irregulate habits, a *Ioue* for a significator. He had peradventure in the Easterne angle *Virgo* with *Sol*, and *Mercury* with *Virgo*, and *Mercury* heated by the beames of *Sol*, and peradventure retrograde. Hee was lovely, and had an impediment in his speech. He betooke himselfe to all manner of sciences; Prevailed in eloquence; hee would learne all things, and doe any thing. He would accommodate himselfe to every mans fashions. And *Cameleon* like take any

any colour, He was inconſtant, ſometimes good, and ſometimes bad, even as he chanced to meete with good or bad men. Qualities, which *Aſtrologians* ſay, *Mercury* inclines to, being ſcituate in that part of the heavens. He produces a moſt humid temperature, he accommodates himſelfe to all, like Aire and Water, which having no proper ſhape, receive any.

The Athenians ſtood in great feare of *Tiſaphernes* preparations. *Alcibiades* knew of their feare; He thought he would make uſe of it. He writ to the Nobility, that if they would take the Government upon them, and ſuppreſſe the Commons, hee would cauſe *Tiſaphernes* to alter his purpoſe. All embraced this motion, *Phrinicus* onely oppoſed it, knowing that it was done with an intent, to breed diſcord betweene the Senate and the *Plebeians*, to returne into his owne native Country. But becauſe this advice was contrary to likelyhood, and given by one who was thought to be an enemy to *Alcibiades*, it was not accepted.

It is hard to goe againſt the preſent, in the behalfe of the future. Truth hath no greater an enemy then likely-hood, and that which is, then that which will be. Wee ſhould not diſpute againſt the ſenſes, if they could not erre; and much leſſe againſt reaſon, if it did not erre. Amongſt themſelves

ſometimes they correct themſelves, if at the ſame time they deceive not themſelves, but the ſenſes guided by a great likely-hood, and reaſon being thereby dragged along, they both fall into error, and there is none to raiſe them up. In tricks of *legerdemaine*, who would not be deceived, if notice given, or experience did not hinder it? and who is not deceived, though he be warned, if the Artiſt be arrived to any excellency? Sometimes we muſt not onely feigne that we doe not ſee, nor underſtand, but alſo beleeve we doe not ſee nor underſtand, that which ſeemes to us, we both ſee and underſtand.

Who ſhall perſwade him that is poſſeſſed of a good and healthfull body, repleniſhed with the beſt humors that can be in man, not endammaged by any action, that he hath need to take Phyſick, if experience had not taught it *Hyppocrates*, and his authority, us?

None would go about to perſwade it, and queſtionleſſe no man would ſuffer himſelfe to be perſwaded thereunto. No more then we ſhould be able to perſwade a Monarch, or a Common-wealth, which had obtained ſome great conqueſt, that it were very uſefull for him, or it to yeeld up againe what it had conquered. There would be requiſite for ſuch a purpoſe a Politick

Hip-

Hippocrates, full of knowledge, experience, and authority, and peradventure he would hardly be able to perſwade it. *Scipio Naſica* was of great eſteeme in the Commonwealth of Rome; yet was he not able to diſſwade the ruining of Carthage. Such is the power of likely hood, it is hard to meet with an underſtanding that can find out truth, a heart that will adviſe it, and a Prince that will follow it. Such an adviſe, is for the moſt part unfortunate: when it is not accepted of, it wants its effect; when it is accepted, it is not ſeen; and becauſe it goes againſt a thing which is ſeen, it is not beleeved. The Authour comes to be blamed for ignorance and malice. *Annibal* was adviſed (and peradventure it was done with wiſdome) to not go to Rome after the defeate of *Cannas*, and becauſe he did not goe, he was taxed with ignorance. *Hanno* would have perſwaded the Carthaginians, (peradventure through malice) in the midſt of victories, when Rome ſeemed even ready to fall, to ſeeke after peace, and becauſe he could not perſwade it, he was eſteemed wiſe. It is ordinary for human malice, to judge that advice to be beſt, which hath not bin accepted: And for its ignorance to refuſe to be cleered in matters which have likelyhood in them, any way but by the evill ſucceſſe.

To give counsell against likely-hood requires a great understanding, or a great passion. The one cannot perswade, unlesse it it be knowen; the other, if it be not concealed. It is sufficient for the understanding to be reputed; Passion must be feared, and may make it, but not perswade it, to be executed; being known it loses its credit, and yet it is alwayes known; being little it is not effectuall, and being great it cannot be concealed. The happy man will not think upon the future, for feare of grieving himselfe, the envious will for his comfort.

That which is, keepes him in torment; Onely the hope that it will not last, revives him. The understanding subtilizeth it selfe, to make it be beleeved, and if there be any reason, it findes it out, if there be none, it feignes one; whence comes, that others do not beleeve it, through the difficulty there is in discerning the true birth of the understanding from the feigned and fantasticall one of the desire.

Alcibiades having intelligence in the City of *Selibria*, made a match to be brought into it by a signall given by fire, suspition that one of the conspirators would discover the treaty, caused an anticipation. He not being prepared, and seeing the signall given, ran thither with a few, giving order for the

the reſt to follow. But being come into the City, he found ſo much oppoſition that he was not able to reſiſt the too advantagious power.

He cauſeth a trumpet to be ſounded: Commands the Cittizens to lay down their armes, if they value their lives. When a man is in danger and hath his ſword in his hand all the ſpirits retired to the heart, and having in a manner forſaken the braine, it is an eaſie matter to be deceived; whence proceeds the danger which is in ſpeaking, whileſt one is skirmiſhing, ſo that many times enterprizes have bin loſt after they have bin in a manner attained, and wonne onely by a word miſſ-underſtood.

The *Selibrians*, hear the enemies within the walls, they imagine they are all there: they heare a trumpet which doth courteouſly, and friendly invite them to yeeld: their braine is not apt to ſearch out the matter, and find out the deceit, and having their weapons in their hands to defend their City, and their lives, judging it impoſſible to defend the one, and ſeeing the way opened to ſecure the other, they accept of the proffer.

The commanding and reſolute ſpeech and voice did cooperate greatly in this fanatick terror: the command cauſes obedience, the

reſolvedneſſe terrifies, eſpecially where diſobedience is death.

To not beleeve it they muſt of neceſſity have had time to diſcourſe upon it: and therefore the imminent puniſhment giving no time to diſcourſe, they were forced to beleeve. Seeing then it was hard to avoid the danger, and canvaſſe the matter, and harder to goe againſt the ſenſes without canvaſſing of it: that was beleeved to ſecure life, which without diſcourſe could not chuſe, but be beleeved, and could not be diſcourſed without hazard of life.

When the Roman Army commanded by *Germanicus* at the River of *Rhine* mutined, *Memius* reduced that part which was moſt violent & inſolent, with reſolute & cõmanding words, which ſeparated the univerſall from the particular, a thing which terrifies the more, forcing a man in his thoughts, to forſake that union, which makes him inſolent, and bold. He takes hold of the eagle, or enſigne, and boldly cries, *he that doth not follow me is an enemy to Cæſar.* *Saul* being ſlighted by a part of the Iſraelites, takes two Oxen, and hewes them in pieces, ſends the pieces into all the quarters of Iſrael, and ſends them word, that ſo ſhall his Oxe be ſerved that doth not follow him;

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The commanding and reſolute meſſage which made the publick cauſe particular, wrought in ſuch manner, that all Iſrael followed him. *Alcibiades* aſſaulted by a ſodaine chance, inſtead of hazarding himſelfe with thoſe few Souldiers which followed him, and caſting himſelfe into the midſt of the danger, hath recourſe to deceit. And that makes me to eſteem him rather ſubtile, then valiant. Seeing that nature being ſodainly brought into a ſtreight, flyes preſently for reliefe to that part from which it hopes for moſt aſſiſtance.

If it bee from the braine, we lay by ſtrength, if from ſtrength, we make no uſe of wit. And if wit had bin laid aſide, and not made uſe of in this caſe, how could he have found out ſuch a ſubtle device, as could hardly have bin contrived being out of danger, and ſettled in mind? In a great paſſion we leave art, and flye to nature.

The one needs attention when it operates; the other needs none. And becauſe in great paſſions man oftentimes abandons himſelf, that paſſion then prevailes which operates, though it be abandoned.

Nature and art taken in a ſtreight, eſpecially by feare, cannot help but hinder one another. The one is not followed by diſcourſe, and the other being abandoned

cannot make uſe of it. Nature hath left but few void of defence, but ſhe ſeldome ſuffers ſagacity, and valour, to be in one ſubject. To whom ſhe hath given a heart to fight, ſhe hath not given ſwiftneſſe to eſcape. Amongſt doggs, that kind which is moſt ſwift, is moſt cowardly.

The Fox muſt by an extreme neceſſity be forced to fight, and a Lion to run away. Yet he will not wholly recommend his ſafety to flight, now and then he will turne his clawes to aſſiſt with that which nature hath granted him, that which neceſſity forces him to.

The dogge by running away puts himſelf in diſorder, becauſe he doth not make uſe of thoſe weapons, in which lies his defence. Wherefore nature inſtead of helping hinders him, becauſe that running with its ſpirits to that part wherein his ſafety ſhould conſiſt, & feare driving them to that part in which it ſhould not be, he muſt of neceſſity loſe himſelfe.

The hare which is eſteemed the moſt fearefull of all creatures, ſeeing it ſelfe ſet upon by ſo uncquall an enemy, faints not, but runnes moſt ſwiftly when it is hardeſt purſued; wherefore we muſt imagine, that it is the luſtineſſe of her heart that carries her, or confeſſes that the Providence of nature aſſiſts her.

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The ſame People which a little while ſince condemned *Alcibiades* as a traitor receive him now as a deliverer, and ere long will drive him away againe as an enemy. They love, and have no ſooner done loving, but they hate, and no ſooner done hating, but they love.

The furtheſt is neareſt to them, for they runne from one extreame to another. They hold no meane, ſaith *Tacitus*, either they feare, or makes themſelves to be feared. Either they ſerve humbly, or command proudly, ſaith *Livie*. The People operate according to ſenſe, which alwayes leads to vice.

Reaſon is that which leades to vertue. But as the people being acuſtomed to ſenſe, which goes from one extreame to another, runnes along with counſels of the ſame quality, ſo wiſe men accuſtomed by vertue to runne on in a meane, follow the ſame way in their adviſes, and becauſe that neither the meane, nor the extreame adviſes are alwayes to be followed, therefore the wiſe man erreth as well when he ſhould take the extreame, as the People, when they ſhould embrace the meane. Policy which turnes the world upſide downe, confounds morality. It alters ſometimes its place, ſometimes it eſſence.

A Metaphyſical Philoſopher is not good in a Common-wealth: the Morall would ſaile well in a calme, in a tempeſt he loſeth himſelfe. Policie is an art by it ſelfe, no man hath yet rightly learned it. Many know how to doe that which ſhould be done, none what is to be done. Hee that knowes not the motions of Fortune, is no good Polititian; and he that knows them, will alſo know God: He is not ſeen in the face, but onely in the back; becauſe (as I may ſay) there is nothing of his operating known, but what is paſt. Not to make uſe of prudence, is brutiſhneſſe; truſting to it, is arrogancy. A man to operate well, though he be full of knowledge, hath need of ſomewhat more; he can neither learn, nor teach, nor know he hath it, unleſs experience ſhews it him, nor knowes not what it is, after he hath had experience of it. If this be not true, that was fruſtratory, and of no availment to *Socrates*, (who was the wiſeſt amongſt the Gentiles) which he beleeved to be a Demon, and in which he truſted, more than in his own prudency. This is not the onely unknown quality in the world, its contrary is likewiſe ſo: And where the good ſerves to give the greater light, the bad is imployed to put it out. Both are occaſions of the loſſe of wiſdome; and he that loſes it, knowes not wherefore. The firſt works upon it, the other

ther againſt it: the one with profit, the other with dammage; the one blind, the other enlightned. The people goes on, and is not ſtayed by diſcourſe, the end of its voyage is, where it can goe no further. A great underſtanding cauſeth conſtancie; a weak one, obſtinacy; becauſe the one ſuffers not it ſelf to be overcome by Sophiſticall fallacies, the other underſtands not the truth of Arguments. The people is diſtempered, how then ſhall it know that which is temperate, ſeeing that he who writ therof, wil have none but its ſemblable know it. An obſtinate perſon is hard to be removed, it is a great violence that muſt doe it; and that being great, throwes all to the ground which it findes a foot, and ſometimes drawes from one extreme to another. If then Mediocrity is hard to finde; found, to bee knowne; and knowne, to ſubſiſt: and the extreme manifeſts it ſelfe, we need not marvell, if the people doe not know Mediocrity. Theſe Phantaſmes draw mine imagination to another place of *Plutarch*: He declares *Cato* be unapt for Sciences, by reaſon of his great conſtancy. If he meanes, that when he had taken an opinion, he would not alter it; if it were good, he was not unable; if bad, why ſhould he be called conſtant? I doe not believe it was inability, will it might well be. He did not love vertue above

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constancy; and because knowledge is nothing but opinion, and opinion gives way to instability, he contemned that knowledge which admitted not of constancy. The not knowing the foretaid secret, which is hidden even from many wise men, is the cause that the people call *Alcibiades* traytor, because he had not taken the Citie of *Andria*: they reputed him to be a most valiant Captaine, because he could all as he would, and would not any thing which he did not obtain. It was unknown to them that there was a *medium* between working through ignorance, and working through malice. This is produced by a masse of circumstances, from a mixture of actives and passives, from a difference of time, which furiously assaults a man. The people hath no glory of its own, its glory depends on anothers, it consists in the election; and because it is a great honour to have chosen well, and an infamy to have chosen ill: when enterprises do not fall out well, because they will not receive both losse and shame, they many times call him traytor who is either ignorant or unfortunate. They doe not ascribe the evill successes of enterprises to accidents because they are incapable of knowing them, nor to ignorance, when it hath framed so vast a conceit and is against their honour that have made the election: they will rather ascribe

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it to treaſon, which being an internall quality, that cannot be known, leaves the opinion ſtill a foote, without endammaging their glory that made the election. A noble perſon inſtead of receiving honour by anothers glory, receives diſgrace thereby, and is known with envy: and if any other great perſon operates amiſſe, he will not attribute it to treaſon; nor much leſſe to fortune, becauſe they both leave the reputation untouched, which is the mark that envy aimes at. He aſcribes it to ignorance or cowardlineſſe, to abuſe that valour and wiſdome which tormented him: and from thence it proceeds, that in an Ariſtocracy, errors ſpring for the moſt part from envy, and in a Democracie from ſuſpition. Evill will takes the reputation from the man, not from the Artiſt. Ignorance from the Artiſt, not from the man.

If an eminent Painter, drawes a pourtraiture defectively, the Common ſorte ſay he would not doe it better, his emulator that he could not, his friend that he was not in the humour nor right veine of working. He that loves him will rather admit that he was drunk, then ignorant, to ſuſtaine his ability and talent; Hee that hates him, wil ſooner ſay he was ignorant than drunk, ſeeking to overthrow him. In nature, art, and all other things belonging to underſtanding,

ſtanding a fault committed out of malice, and wilfulneſſe, is not ſo bad as one committed for want of ability, or through ignorance. But in ſuch things as belong to manners, and morall actions, it is quite contrary. He that will ſee the difference between the judgement of Nobles that are touched with envie, and the Peoples which are taken with admiration, let him conſider, that *Plutarch* ſpeaking thereof, ſaith, that *Alcibiades* had no will to overcome, and brings forth *Nicias*, a Noble man, accuſing him for the ſame ill ſucceſſe to the people, and ſaying, that he did it through ignorance, careleſneſſe, folly and vanity, attributing it not to his evil heart, but to his ill underſtanding, and other things which might diſparage his wiſdome. A great reputation is an enemy to him that hath no merit; to him that hath it not equall to his reputation, and alſo to him that hath it but equall. It is onely favourable to him that hath a talent ſurpaſſing that great eſteeme. He enjoyes not only that which he hath, but alſo that which he hath not, but hopes to attain unto. And becauſe humane felicity doth not conſiſt in obtaining the greater things, but in the greateſt hope of obtaining them; becauſe that a continued act in a ſmall time, produces a habit, from which ſprings ſatiety or inſenſibility, and hee

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ſhall be more happy then the other, whoſe merit and repute is equall. It is a great miſfortune for a man to have worth, and want repute; and farre greater to have repute, and want worth. The feare of the future diſgrace, ſpoils his preſent pleaſure. He cannot ground his delight upon that which is falſe, if he doth not deceive himſelfe, he expects ſhame from being undeceived. Although he findes not himſelfe faulty for having deceived, yet hee would be happy in ſome meaſure, if he could but call in that error which he cannot perpetuate in others; becauſe the knowledge of ones ſelfe (which is mans chiefe vertue) is the Hangman which torments him. Finally, a great repute is the greateſt help a man can have that will not operate: and the greateſt dammage for him that is put to the Teſt, and is tried; for either he proves according to expectation, and then he gaines nothing, or proves beneath the expectation, and loſes all he had gained.

Reputation is not diminiſhed by degrees, nor cannot be broken piece-meale: if it be not reſerved intire, it quite abandoneth one. If a particular man hath gotten it, let him be content with having it; if a Prince, let him not, if he can avoid it, put it to a triall. It is better to die in great repute than put it to adventure; to leave it doubtfull in the world

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what would have followed, than to put ones self in danger of what wil follow. Voluntarily one ought not put it to triall, but being forced thereunto, adventure himselfe with it; and upon occasion of losing it, lose himselfe also. Not only that victory which *Alcibiades* got over the Citie of *Selibria*, but all the rest of his actions likewise, discover him rather to have been full of cunning subtilty, than of wisdome. From whence, in my opinion, proceeded the instability of his fortune.

Wisdome infused by the gift of grace, hath somewhat in it that is Angelicall, and sets a man in the way to be rather a Citizen of heaven, than a Ruler in the world. Cunning and subtilty hath something of Diabolicall in it, and is made for hell. Acquired wisdome makes a man apt for all things; but he that should alwayes take it in a strict way, in many affaires might use it with much disadvantage, by reason of mens malice. Hence it comes, that it is not alwayes one and the same, but is divided into Morall, Politicall, Oeconomicall, and Military. In all of them is required a candidnesse of heart, if the end be good. But if you except the Morall, it is because the meanes are not direct, and then becomes sagacity, which is a part and species of wisdome. For an oblique meanes doth not alwayes

wayes take away the vertue, when it tends to a good end, and that the meanes it selfe it not vicious.

A Generall of an Army deceives an enemy by some wile, to overcome him. The Physician the Patient, to cure him; and yet the wisdome of these men consists in well mixing the Actives with the Passives. All this seemes to be in those words, *Be ye as wise as Serpents, and as innocent as Doves.* That Serpent could not be called wise, which in another place is said to be *the most subtile Beast of the field.* If Subtilty with candidnesse of heart, were not wisdome, inferior indeed to morall wisdome in a morall private life; but most necessary in a Politick, Military, and Oeconomicall Government. And this subtilty is not peradventure so befitting a Morall man, as a Politician.

The morall mans end is the good of the *individuum*; which end, the more vertuous the operations are, the larger it is. The Politick mans end is the good of the *species*, which oftentimes doth not admit of pure meere vertue without adding somwhat to it, or taking somwhat from it. It changes, if not the nature, yet the circumstances, in passing from him that lives to himselfe, to him that lives for others; because there is great difference between a Governor, or Ruler, and a Tutor.

A Prince must not make use of vice in governing, nor yet of such vertues as ruine the people. Clemency, liberality, mercy, fortitude, and all other vertues, are cõmendable in a privat man. In a Prince I commend rigor above clemẽcy, parsimony above liberality, roughness above mercy; and cautell above fortitude. Rigor will preserve his peace at home, parsimony wil defend him frõ externall war, without endangering the blood of his subjects, or emptying unmeasurably his Exchequers. Roughnesse will preserve justice, and prevent so many ill effects which compassion produces: to which we must imagine *Aristotle* had a relation, when in his *Poetick* (which is also a part of his *Politicks*) he made so principall a business the instruction of Princes, to let them learn Tragick Poems, as a thing that would purge their dispositions from mercy. Finally, cautelousnesse will not suffer him to expose his life, which is of such value, to gain a vain and unprofitable repute of being valorous. *David* whilest he was a private man, did always shew great signes of valour; but being once King, he suffered himselfe to be perswaded by *Ioab*, to absent himselfe from danger. And when the Lord intending to punish him, propounded three things unto him, whether hee would endure seven yeares famine, flye three moneths before his enemies,

enemies, or have three days peſtilence in the land; he choſe the laſt, quite againſt the vertue of fortitude, but yet in favour of the publick good; judging (as St. *Ambroſe* ſaith) his abſence would be more hurtfull to the people, than the peſtilence. True it is, that when he ſaw the Angel turn his ſword upon the people, he cried out, that he ſhould turn it againſt him that was guilty, and ſpare the innocent. But this was not fortitude digeſted by reaſon, it was a violence incited by a tender and valorous nature. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, That in his choyce hee followed wildome; in his griefe, piety. I will unfold this queſtion, by ſaying. That the Propoſition which God made to *David*, was to keep him farre off: that which *David* made to the Angel, was to kill him. He will not accept of going farre off, and deſires death, becauſe that by his abſence, the Peoples light was put out, and they would bee left without a guide in the dark: whereas his death had been but a putting out of one light, to give way to another. The former ſeemes alwayes to be evill, the latter is not alwayes ſo, but many times is turned to a greater good. It may alſo bee ſaid, that when *David* made his firſt choyce, hee grounded it upon a hope hee had, that hee he might appeaſe God by Prayer; which foundation, when he found it prove vain, he

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altered his desire. Nothing makes a man better than prudency, and nothing keeps him more secure than sagacity. This sagacity would be dangerous, if it were naturally rooted in the breast of a Generall, born there, and not acquired: For those who are endowed therewith in this manner, never goe about to try either force or fortune, untill the case be quite desperate, and for the most part, the time past, either to make use of force, or adventure ones self upon chance. A Generals sagacity is different from a Polititians. The one is not good in the Citie; wherefore Military men are little available in a Senate. The other is pernicious in the field: wherefore they send Gown-men, & Councellors to lose and ruine enterprises. In one of these sagacities valour should prevaile; in the other, sagacity it self must have the upper hand. The Polititian ought not betake himselfe to force till sagacity quite fails; and the Military man will hardly make use of sagacity, whileſt he can work with violence.

Alcibiades hath recourse to *Pharnabazus*, favourite to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, & presently becomes bound to him in a most strict bond of amity. He had I know not what of attractive in him, which alluring mens mindes, bewitched them. A lively Spirit, from which proceeds activity, and abundance

dance of meanes to work by. If we ſeek the celeſtial cauſes thereof, it proceeds from the conſtitution of the Planets, from the ſwiftneſſe of the motions, from *Mercury* ſet in his dignities. If we ſeek the elementary cauſes, we will ſay, it proceeds from the fire, which producing its nature in the Spirits, participateth his motion unto them from the center to the ſuperficies. Therefore in ſuch kinde of people, the ſpirits are perceived at the circumference, by the motions of the head and hands; and moſt of all, by the ſplendor of the eyes, out of which they ſend forth ſparkles. And by reaſon that no cauſe, (if we ſpeak of celeſtiall ones) concurres more in this fabrick, than *Mercury*, ſwift in his dignities; therefore it proves moſt like him. They draw him with wings at his feet, at his head, or his haire. The Poets doe not make him *Ioves* Councellor, but his Meſſenger, and ſometimes his Miniſter to deceive. His Minerall is *Mercury*, which alwayes moves, and is like ſilver, but is not ſilver, which deceives the eyes of thoſe that look upon it, with it's ſplendor, and ruines them that handle it, with its poyſon. The Alchimiſts ſeeing it falſe, becauſe it is moveable, ſeek to take away its motion, and fix it. Aſtrologians believe not it hath any happy influence in the underſtanding, though it bee never ſo fortunate. They deſire not to finde

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him in his own houſe and exaltation, but rather in *Saturns*, or at leaſt favoured with his preſence and beames, to cut off his wings with the ſloweſt Planets Sythe. When they give him the company of any ſtars, to make him have a happy influence, it is of the leſſer ones. The over-much motion which it gives the ſpirits in beginning of an action, doth not admit of a proſecution of it; and the over-much light doth puzzle and reſolve them. If Philoſophers deſire a temperament for a great underſtanding, they doe not commend that which is of fire, nor that of earth; not melancholy, nor *Bilis* alone; if any *Bilis*, that which is black, which is the Aſtrologers *Mercury* in the houſe of *Saturn*: and the Quickſilver fixed by the Alchimiſts fire. The Mercurials with their ſwiftneſſe run over all things, with their ſplendor they ſee them: and becauſe they run, they cannot diſcourſe; and becauſe their motion is from the center to the circumference, they ſpread and dilate themſelves abroad, they doe not grow deeper, nor take root. And having many objects before their eyes, they have always ſome new thing to propoſe, whereby they ſeem fruitfull, yet are but barren, bringing forth abortive embrioes; & if they come to be children, they are monſtrous ones. I beare with Princes; ſometimes they put themſelves into ſuch mens hands, in compa-

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in compar ſon of which, all others ſeeeme dull and obtuſe. Whilſt a Melancholly man gives one reaſon, they will give a thouſand. If one anſwer ſerves not, they will give two, or three, they confound, and delight with variety: with their engines and inventions they gaine admiration; with their words, great ſpirit, and effectuall operation, as it were a fury, they aſtoniſh. Rethorick, Poetrie, Muſick, and other Arts, doe conſiſt of, I know not what, ſet on the outſide; the judgment whereof ſeemes to belong to the ſenſes; Energie, Number, Sweetneſſe of voyce, and variety of colouring. Although they conſiſt of ſomewhat elſe which is more internall; to apprehend which is required great skill in thoſe Arts; and an eminent underſtanding to judge of it. The ignorant man, preſently runnes to the ſenſe, and judges with the eye, and eare, commending according to his ſight and hearing, many times that which deſerves no commendation, and never blaming that which is blame-worthy. Apparance deceives him, becauſe he fixes himſelfe upon the accidents and commands them; and not penetrating to the knowledge of the ſubſtance, he diſcommends it not, becauſe he does not know it. *Seneca* ſpeaks of ſome Orators, whoſe orations pronounced by themſelves ſeemed excellent, and at the

very first, gained applause; but being read, and examined, were of no worth. He confesses they forced his understanding, and he commends them, not because they deserved it, but because they bound him to it. The same thing there is in pictures; for there are somecoloured in such sort, that at the first sight, they doe constraine the judgement of ignorant, & somtimes of understanding men also, yet with this difference, that the first still continue and persevere in their opinions, and these alter it as soon as they have examined the businesse. Such kinds of qualities, which so violently attract, in Policie, Rethorick, Poetry, Painting, and other Arts, doe proceed, as I said, from a kinde of Fury, which is seen in the visage of an active man, and in the visage and gesture of the Orator. *Tacitus* was not content with calling it a River, but increases the Epithet with the name of *High sounding*, to expresse the noise with which it violently runs. *Seneca* calls it *Impetuous*, and doth not say it inclines, but ravishes the mindes of hearers. The same Fury, though it bee not seen, nor heard in Painters, yet it is seen imprinted in the works. The works of *Tintoretto*, though they be inferior to *Raphael's* pictures, yet with these qualities they take away their advantage. They are both good, but at the first glance, if you doe not take time, you will

will applaud *Tintoretto's* most; if you consider them well, *Raphaels*. He that coloureth best, shall finde greater applause at the vulgars hands, than he that designes and drawes best, although he colour well also. So likewise falls it out in Poetry and Rethorick, that which prevailes in that part that belongs most to the sense being highliest applauded: For that presently represents it self to the eye of man; and the sight straightway carries it to the understanding, and without letting it have time to discourse upon it, obliges it to give judgement on apparances side. A man fit for great employment, ought to be endowed with wisdome, to know what he is to undertake; and with activenesse to goe through with businesse when he hath deliberated upon it. If you finde two subjects, one most wise and sufficient, but not very active; the other most active, though not so wise, activity being easier to know, than prudence, and immediatly perceived in the visage, gestures and eyes of him that is endowed therewith Prudence being invisible, as internall and concealed vertue, which is not discovered, but onely in occasions; surely wise men will passe their verdicts on the active mans side, & he shal be put upon all the employments. Let Princes beware of these lively Spirits, of these beautifull tinctures, this harmony of

verſe, this ſtreame of eloquence, for fear leſt it take away their judgement, to the endangering and utter ruine of the State.

Alcibiades above all other things, was noted for inequality, he was eloquent in a degree above man, fairer than woman, eminent in underſtanding, liberall and pleaſing; but unjuſt, luſtfull, and tyrannicall. Thoſe who have ſuch a mixture of great vices, and great vertues, ſometime precipitate and fall almoſt as ſoon as they are born; ſometimes alſo they make a great noyſe in the world, when they happen upon times which will beare with ſuch vices, and ſtand in need of ſuch vertues. *Alcibiades* met with a popular Common-wealth, fitted to his inequality, that applauded his liberality and beauty, ſuffered it ſelfe to be perſwaded by his eloquence admired his reſolution, humorouſneſſe and valour, did run along with him in his vices of luxury, ſurfeiting, tyranny and injuſtice; which were pleaſing to people, ſo long as they were employed againſt the Nobility. *Nero*, who was blemiſhed with ſuch defects, and yet gained the *Romane* peoples applauſe, more than any other *Romane* Emperour. Indeed it was by reaſon that he met with times differing from *Alcibiades* times, the Senate then being predominant over the people, which lived depreſſed, and without authority, his ruine could not be pre-

prevented; whereas *Alcibiades* did not take so much harm within the Common-wealth, in getting honours, as abroad in managing of affaires; for although his temperament was well enough accommodated and fitted to the state which the Citie was in, yet he found it otherwise in forraigne affaires, whereby he was necessitated to fall. And though he did rise again divers times assisted by his great and good parts, yet being at the last over-born by his evill ones, he remained oppressed. Equality is not onely judged to be an endowment of a wise man, but also a signe that he is one, seeing it is he that commands the starres. If a heaven variable in its motions, moves above us, the stars alwayes varying in their aspects, have their influences upon us, and an aire mutable every moment, doth encompasse us, and we are our selves framed of an unequall temperament, who shall be able to keep himself continually in the same tone, in despight of heavens, stars, elements and temperaments? Certainly a wise man shall. We are made a spectacle to God and men, said St. *Paul*. And is it not a worthy spectacle, to see a wretched man, a handfull of earth, a point, a nothing, to oppose the vastnesse of the heavens, the influences of the starres, the masse of the Elements, his owne nature, and conquer them all? Equality signorizes over the influences, because

because it constantly goes alwayes against them: inequality is commanded by them, because it alwayes followes them various.

Finally, after so many Catastrophes *Alcibiades* by the *Lacedemonians* deceits, and *Farnabazus* his treachery, ended his life by the Sword. When Nature fights with a disease, and shewes it selfe sometimes superior, and sometimes inferior, it betokens and argues weaknesse in it, at last it remains conquered, the disease increasing in malignity, and nature decreasing in strength, which it loses even then when it overcomes. Relapses for the most part are deadly, because that nature overcame not the disease at first, but onely when it used its last endeavour, and when the disease riseth again above its nature wanting a new and greater endeavour, must of necessity succumb & perish: Even so, man wrastling with Fortune, and sometimes being superior, sometimes inferior, must needs at last remain inferior, & be overcome. For an unfortunate man to strive against Fortune, for the first time is ignorance, being once beaten downe, to rise againe and returne to the combat is obstinacie, but to prosecute, and follow it, is meer and absolute follie. What ease would it be to a man to know himselfe the very first houre to be unfortunate? he would shun the resort of men, to make himselfe a Companion of wild

wild beasts, and in stead of Cityes and Palaces, Caves, and Woods would be his habitation. And if Fortune did seeke him out, instead of giving him her hand, she would turne her back to him. He would haye his recourse to night, to not behold the light which is so tormenting to him, the Sun, and Heavens that are so contrary, and would also wish the night darke, that he might not see in it those starrs which threaten him dammage and ruine. Happinesse shewes ill in a mans eyes in the darke, and unhappinesse in the light. It had bin better for such a one to not have bin borne, or to have dyed as soone as he was borne. But since to not be borne did not lie in his hands, nor dying doth not; let him hide himselfe, to make men beleeve that he is not borne, and that he lives as if he were dead. Surely if he did know his evill fortune, he would withdraw into the woods, and if it were knowen to others, he would be forced to retreate thither. Wee can hardly make our selves beleeve we have it, unlesse we make more then one essay, but others may easily know that we have it, without having experimented it. Great Princes, Kings, and Monarchs, in whose hands seemes at first to lie the giving and taking away of their subjects fortune, if they did withstand the motions which they inwardly feele,

they would know the quality of fortune by the inward effect which moves in them. And how behove-full would it be to recule and ſet by unfortunate men ere they were ſcarce known, and to bring fortunate men out into the light, they having no need of any other triall, but what they feele within themſelves of inſtinct or loathing. Fortunate men overcome fortune with following it, the unfortunate with yeelding to it. How many times doth nature kill a man, no diſeaſes aſſaulting nor engaging him, becauſe it doth aſſault and engage them. There are (according to the opinion of learned men) certaine venemous humours, which remaine a long time in a mans body without hurting it, becauſe nature hath laid them aſide in ſome ignoble part, farre from the heart, and hath not medled with them, nor ſtirred them; which humours if ſhe once ſet upon, ſhe is loſt. And unfortunate man would live ſecure all the dayes of his life; if ſeeing he cannot any way move fortune, he would recule, and remove himſelfe, not comming to triall with her, to aſſault her. Man daily calls fortune unconſtant, and yet learnes not to ceaſe his admiration when he ſees her inconſtancy. If he he doth not know her to be ſuch, why doth he give her that attribute? and if he doth know it, why doth he wonder at it when he ſees it in-

inconstant? This alwayes accompanies ignorance, and doth not admit of providence.

What is there firme in the world? The earth to day brings forth a plant, and makes shew as if would raise it up as high as heaven. Goe by, and come againe that way within a few dayes, and you shall see it turned to ashes, and quite abandoned as soon as it is perfected. Behold a Tree that hath happily brought its fruite to maturity, and hath born it all the while it was imperfect, and as soone as it is come to perfection suffers it either to wither, or rot: These things are daily seen, and yet no man wonders at such an inconstancy. But if we do but think of an *Alexander* the great, extolled and raised up to the skies, then when he is at the height left in the hands of an unfortunate death; his Monarchie first divided, and then destroyed; Then we cry out against fortune, and call it inconstant. If all wordly things are subject to these kinds of motions, and changes, why doe we ascribe them to fortune more then to any thing else; Truely because it hath least part in it; and is therein more inconstant, because it hath no certainty in its inconstancy, wherefore we complaine of its good deeds, and our owne ignorance is the cause of our wondring: it being not alwayes incon-

ſtant, but we not knowing when it will be ſo.

Men have to this day ſought the cauſe why it comes to paſſe that ſubjects raiſed by fortune, are by the ſame in an inſtant caſt downe: and that ſhe ſhewes her power moſt adverſe there, where her favours have bin moſt conſpicuous; and no body hath yet bin able to give a *juſt* reaſon for it: not ſo much becauſe they could not give a reſolution of the Probleme, as becauſe they have not framed nor ſtated the Probleme right: but have laid it falſe. For many, yea very many who have bin raiſed by fortune, have remained ſo all their life time, and it hath followed them to their very graves. The reaſon of this diverſity of effects, is that, which muſt be ſifted out. *Jupiter* and *Venus* doe not alone influxe fortunes, but *Mars* and *Saturne* likewiſe have their influences; and with them the fixed ſtarres of the firſt greatneſſe, all of them (except *Spica Virginis*) defiled with the violent qualities of theſe malevolent ones.

The way is different, and the manner contrary. Some doe raiſe men, are raiſed by Violence, Misfortune, Sword, Fire, Bloud, Slaughters, and Battailes. Some againe, by meanes of Sciences, Vertues, Counſells and Prudence are brought mildly up to degrees of eminency. Out of the

firſt

first are framed Tyrants, and Generalls of Armyes; out of the later, Lawgivers, Councellors, Princes, Priests. Each have their Catastrophes according to their nature, when once the Aspect turnes from being friendly to be adverse. But the dammages and harmes which are influxed by *Iupiter* and *Venus* are not Tragicall; The change of State is not suddaine, and even the death it selfe is milde. *Saturne* and *Mars* doe every thing violently. Looke but upon the seven Kings of Rome in its very first beginning, and you shall see them all (except *Numa Pompilius*) die violent deaths. In them you shall for the most part see the violence of misfortunes involv'd amongst destructions & bloud. In this the mildnesse of *Iupiter*, & *Venus*, Councell, Prudencie, and Religion. Consider many peacefull Princes; Legislators, Councellors, and Priests, risen to the very height of happinesse: And on the other side many Princes that have bin Warriors, Tyrants, Generalls of Armies; And in these you shall find, for the most part, Tragick Catastrophes, in the other, very seldome any violent ones. But the infortunate man hath not onely nature, and the starres adverse to him, but men also, whose envy he stirreth up against him through his pride; and even God himselfe moving him to wrath with his wickednesse. Yet

his

his fortune may wither a little, and yet not be quite corrupted, he may by his prudency overlway the ſtarres, with humility mitigate men, and with piety appeaſe God. Finally, if *Alcibiades* had not the delight of an unſavoury and continued happineſſe, he had it of a ſharpe, and often renewed one. The habit of a Wreſtler (as the wiſe man ſaid) being arrived to the very height of goodneſſe cannot be increaſed, but it will periſh, nor cannot be kept at a ſtay but it will change, nor change without growing worſer.

The remedy is to diminiſh it, that it may be increaſed againe. Even ſo happineſſe being arrived to the height, muſt deſcend: and if you ſtay till the deſcent comes accidentally, it often turnes to a precipice: If it comes by wiſdom and foreſight, it occaſions a new delight by riſing againe.

There is no way for one to riſe when he is at higheſt, but firſt he muſt come downe lower; Fortune is favourable when chance carries him downe gently, and it is an eminent underſtanding, which will diſpoſes his will to it. There is no great delight in being happy, it requires a motion, the pleaſure is in the becomming ſo, and he that oftenеſt and moſt times becomes ſuch hath received moſt pleaſure. Such a happineſſe doth that man attaine unto, that humbles him-

himſelfe when he is come to the higheſt degree: he enjoyes a perpetuall delight, and yet doth not forſake his ſtand, living in a continuall motion. He alwayes humbles himſelfe, and is ſtill raiſed up. But even as *Hippocrates* was (in mine opinion) deceived, judging it a good habit, to be full of bloud, ſo are they alſo who judge thoſe men happy that are ful of bloud. If any man had repreſented, and ſet before the eyes of *Cæſar*, and *Alexander* the great, and others who were then; or are now like unto them, the way, and meanes, whereby they had attained to their happineſſe; hearing nothing but outcries, howlings, and horrid lamentations, ſeeing nothing but ſlaughters, ruines of Cities, deſolation of Provinces, Inhabited places made deſolate, fruitfull places barren, themſelves encompaſſed, with fire, dead carkaſſes, and bloud: it would ſurely ſtrike a terror into them. What happineſſe is that then the cauſe of which affrights and terrifies even him that hath attained to it?

FINIS.

MARQUES VIRGILIO MALVEZZI, *HIS* CORIOLANUS,

To the most Reverend Father, *Sforza Pallavicino*, *Of the Society of Jesus.*

Most Reverend Father,

I Dedicated my *Alcibiades* to King *Philip* the fourth: I now dedicate *Coriolanus* to your most reverend Fatherhood. What a happinesse do I enjoy, to have the greatest Monarch of the world to be my Master: And the greatest wit, and most sublime understanding to my Nephew. If these two lines, which adorn my Writings, were but graven upon my Tombstone, they would fully satisfie my ambition, namely, HERE LIETH THE SERVANT TO KING PHILIP, AND UNCLE TO FATHER.

THER PALAVICINE. The goer by would therein read the happinesse of my birth, and the worthinesse of my choyce. And how can these my Writings be but secure, protected by the greatest worldly power, and defended by the greatest learning? I beleeve my affinity will not derogate from mine attestation, in witnessing that which your workes have manifested to the world. I would (I had almost said) renounce my kindred, rather than betray my judgement; and leave being an Uncle, rather than to not be a Trumpet of the eminency of your understanding, and most rarely singular qualities. I would beseech your most reverend Paternity, to esteeme of that in mee, which is none of mine; namely, your being my Nephew, and I in the mean time, will glory to have added the Title of *Servant* to the Character of *Uncle*. So, affectionately kissing your hands, I rest,

Bononia April 2. 1648.

Your most Reverend Fatherhoods most bounden Servant, and most devoted Uncle,

Virgillo Malvezzi

READER,

I Doe not profesſe my ſelfe ſo conſiderate, as that I could not erre in mine advertiſements: neither am I ſo Unchriſtian, that I would have any mans reputation to ſuffer, being any way touched by my ignorant miſtakes. I have therefore thought it good to recall two paſſages in a booke I ſet forth whilſt I lived in Spaine, *called* The Scale. *Whereof the one tends ſomewhat to the diſparagement of the Duke of* Savoy, *where I related there was a report that hee complied with the King of* France, *in yeilding of* Suſa *upon compoſition. The other was concerning the Governour of the* Buſh, *through whoſe avarice I ſaid the Towne was loſt. As for the firſt, though I did not report it*

it of mine own head, yet it is so farre from truth, that I should imagine I did wrong the sincerity Duke Charles used therein, if I did not affirme the report to be false, raised by some malicious, and interessed persons. As for the second, I have seen the Cardinall Infante *his Letters which testified that the Governour was wanting in nothing that belonged to him for the securing and defending of that place. Therefore Reader if thou findest any other places in any parts of my books, where I have plainly, and unjustly touched any mans reputation, I intend here to recall it in generall, and will be ready to doe it in particular, whensoever mine errors shall be made knowen to me. And wheresoever the sense is dubious, I shall desire to have it favourably interpreted.*

CORIOLANUS.

CORIOLANVS.

CORIOLANVS his eminent vertues, which mingled with some defect, made it rather greater than equall, obliges *Plutarch* to attribute the cause of the one to the goodnesse of his nature, and of the other to the defect of education. From the one he inferres, that good soile may overcome bad tillage: from the other, that let the soile be never so good, yet if it continually have bad tillage, it will bring forth some bad plant. The soile is the Minde, the tillage, Learning, which being of a temperate complexion, corrects all excesses, and cures all contrarieties. It raiseth those that are too low, humbles them that are too stout; where it findes any hard thing, it softens it; where any soft, it hardens it: resembling the Sun, which with the same beames melts the Ice, and hardens the mire. This doctrine is so delightfull, that it hath been able to attract the eyes which it could not dazzle,

I have a long time looked upon it with aſtoniſhment, knowing that by conſenting to it, I ſhould betray mine underſtanding; and doubting leſt by oppoſing it, I ſhould ſeem to queſtion a truth; and by arguing againſt education, which hath commonly been approved of, (and moſt of all by the wiſeſt) I ſhould be reputed raſh and temerary, though by right I ſhould be applauded for it. But if a good Citizen ought to expoſe his life to ſave the publick, why ſhould he not alſo adventure his reputation for the common ſervice? This will be alſo ſo much the eaſier, becauſe I mean not to direct my ſhafts againſt the thing it ſelfe, but againſt the manner; commending, with others, Education: but not that Education which is commonly practiſed.

I repreſent unto my ſelfe two trees of the ſame kinde, but in ſeverall places; one wilde in the forreſt, yet in good ſoile: the other growing in a Garden, amiddeſt the tenderneſſes of tillage and husbandry. I ſee the boughes of the latter more beautifull and ſpringing up, its fruit fairer and bigger; but the boughes ready to break at every blaſt of wind, & the fruit rot in a ſhort time, and affording but a weak kind of nouriſhment. I ſee in the former, rougher boughes, leſſer fruit, and not ſo beautifull; but the boughes reſiſting the fury of the North windes, and the

the fruit not easily corrupted, and strong for nourishment. The roughnesse of the tree of the forrest, yeelds I know not what kind of statelinesse, so that Majesty added to the horridnesse, brings forth a kind of reverence with delight. The tendernesse of the other, moves delight with its beauty; but in such a manner, that it doth in some kinde make the beholder grow tender with looking on it. The tree of the forrest is like a vigorous, sinewy, well-limbed man, with strong muscles. A garden tree resembles a young and tender maiden. And if this be true, education being like a garden, will make the masculine vigour grow effeminate, take away the horridnesse which produces feare, the Majesty which causeth reverence, and will change the Sex, and metamorphose Man into Woman. Many Princes have found it so, who having conquered fierce & stubborn nations, have not taken more pains in any thing to keep them under the yoke of bondage, than in polishing what was rough, tame what was wilde, and effeminate by manuring and trimming in a Garden, the masculine conditions of those wilde, but robustious plants; yet I doe not mean to vilifie Education but rather intend to speake in commendation of it, not digressing from the example of *Agriculture*, which *Plutarch* sets down.

A husbandman ſometimes meets with an excellent ſoile, to ſowe Corne upon: and if he does but even as it were, break it up with the Plough, and ſowes but a little quantity of ſeed upon it, it will yeeld a fruitfull and abundant harveſt: becauſe the goodneſſe of the ſoile, not oppreſſed by the multitude of ſeed, doth beyond meaſure increaſe that little, and being not ſoftened with overmuch tilling, it ſtrengthens the ſtemme, and with great fertility comes to maturity. But if the unskilfull husbandman too carefully manures and tills it, and ſowes a great deale of ſeed upon it, at the firſt comming up, he ſhall ſee an abounding crop ſpring, which being growen up with the fruite ſhall lye upon the ground, and being laid will be over-growne with weeds, and ſhall gather great eares, but empty and putrified.

A husbandman ſometimes meetes with a ſoile that is ſo barren, that he leaves it in the hands of nature, after he hath tilled it, and ſowen it with very good ſeed, and it will bring forth graſſe inſtead of Corne, and cockle inſtead of Wheat.

But if he chance to meete with an indifferent ſoile, there he uſes all the art and skill he hath in husbandry; there he ſoweth ſeed in abundance, and whereas in excellent ſoil, with little art hindering as it were nature, in

in indifferent ſoile, with great Art, aſſiſting it, he reapes a moſt plentifull and abounding Harveſt. This is an inſtruction for men. Let not an evill nature be too much tilled, nor fed with ſeed, it is offended by being fed, and too much tillage offends it; either the ſeed doth not fadge and take root there, or it turnes to poyſon. Let an indifferent nature have a great deale of education, and a good one but a little, if you will not have it grow weak and effeminate. The ancient *Romanes*, whileſt the excellent ſoile laſted, did not tenderly till it with learning, becauſe they would not weaken the ſturdineſſe of their Citizens, nor cauſe their corn to lie upon the ground through too much rankneſſe, but did educate them ruſtically, in a Military way, and ſo they brought forth a plentifull generation of Heroick perſons. The curious dreſſing of a Garden is fit for *Tulips*, and ſuch kindes of Flowers, which for the moſt part delight the eye, but are without ſavour, ſent, or ſubſtance: and ſuch are thoſe men, who brought up in Muſicke, ſinging, and dancing, ſerve for ornament, but are fruitleſſe and vain in a Commonwealth.

The advantage which an excellent ſoile being but roughly tilled, hath above that which is carefully manured and fed, will more plainly appeare, in paſſing over two o-

ther

ther parts, we multiply the compariſon. *Titianus* was queſtionleſs an admirable Painter; ſometimes hee was ſo accurate in the Draughts of his Penſill, and ſo exact in his limming, that it ſeemed hee would make the very haires numerable: and ſometimes hee would content himſelfe with drawing of ſome pictures with few and rough ſtrokes. An underſtanding Spectator of ſuch a different proceeding in his Art, will in the one finde a feminine trimneſſe; in the other, a maſculine ſturdineſſe. Hee will paſſe over the firſt with praiſe, the latter hee will fixe upon with admiration; hee will have a ſweet inclination to the firſt, but the laſt will violently and forcibly draw along his admiration and affection.

What was *Cato* (whom Antiquity was never weary of commending) but a plant growing in an excellent ſoile, a Picture drawn with rough ſtrokes? And the two *Brutes*, one of which expelled the Tyrant, and the other ſlew him, who will not ſay but they were trees of the forreſt? The ſecond was inferior to the firſt in fortune, becauſe he exceeded him in knowledge. Hee knew the defect after hee had been hurt by it; and when he lay a dying, he ſtiled all Sciences vain. *Lucius*, hardened by the ſavageneſſe of the forreſt, kild his own Children. *Marcus*, ſofined with the delicacie of tillage,

tillage suffers *Cæsars* friends to live, losing that Common-wealth with his learning, which the other had built up with his ignorance. The people of Rome who hoped for liberty through *Marcus* his valour, feared he would lose the beauty of his forestick horridnesse, by meanes of manuring; *Cæsar* almost assured himselfe that he had lost it. They were both deceived, for with that part of savageness which remained, he could kill *Cæsar*, and ruine the Common-wealth with that softnesse which he had acquired.

When education is contrary to nature, if it doth produce a new character of its own, yet can it hardly quite cancell that which it found, it may mitigate, but not overcome it. One subject made basis to two contraries, sometimes operating according to nature, sometimes to educatiō, works with opposite motions, and with that inequality loses it selfe. If *Marcus Brutus* had bin wholly soft, he had not undertaken so cruell an act: if he had bin wholly rough, he had happily atchieved and performed it.

Plutarch confesses the truth, in denying it. This herbe the more it is troden the sweeter in smells, this dust the more it is stamped upon, the more it rises.

Hee commends learning, because it softens the mind, and this is

effeminating of it, because it reduces to a mediocrity, and that is annihilating of greatnesse. He also granteth, that the Romanes education, aimed onely at the bringing in of the vertue of fortitude.

The crowne of Oake, which *Coriolanus* gained in his young yeares gives us to understand, what plants they would have to grow in the Common-wealth, and in what manner manured.

But why had the Oake this prerogative? Peradventure, saith *Plutarch*, by reason of the the Arcadians who honoured it, Or of *Iupiter* who decked himselfe with it, or because of the sturdinesse, or fruitfulnesse of the tree. Or peradventure they considered the vertue of the Oake, which lying under water doth not corrupt, or soften, but growes as hard as stone, whereas if part of it stand above water in the aire, it rots in a short time; As if they would signifie thereby, that in a man of worth and valour, vertue doth increase, by his being continually plunged in employments; and contrariwise it withers and fades away, when any part of him is exposed to sensuality.

Those who would have the reward of the Oaken crowne to come againe, let them take away *Meum & Tuum*. Let them turne this, into a Golden age: and without producing an Acorne age, they shall see the

the Oaken Crownes spring up in abundance.

It is so consonant to reason that all crimes should be punished, and all vertues rewarded, that it serves for an argument to know there is a heaven, and a hell; because that good and evill things being not rewarded and punished by God in this world, seeing it is necessary they should be rewarded, it argues that of necessity there must be places in the other world to doe it. He is notwithstanding a pernicious and irreligious Prince that will imitate God in this particular. He takes away (as much as in him lies) the efficacy of the argument, because he takes away the necessity of doing it, seeing he hath not another world, to reward or punish them in, whom he hath not rewarded nor punished in this world. The happinesse of worldly government consists in not suffering any vertue to go unrewarded, nor any offence unpunished.

One of the greatest disorders that the corruption of rewards hath produced, making treasuries unable to undergoe that burthen, hath bin the (in some sort) obliging Princes and Common-wealths to reward vertues with an impunity of offences.

Unfortunate is that vertuous act, abominable that reward, if the recompence must

be, the bearing with offences: if rewarding must be forbearance of punishing, either vertue must goe without reward, or turne to vice to attaine it.

No body makes any question, but that rewards and punishments are they which beare up States: upon these two pillars, did God lay the foundations of the world, promising glory to those who did well, and threatning evill doers, with everlasting torments; and if this were not sufficient, if he met with people that beleeved neither heaven nor hell, he set a reward and a punishment within man himselfe, imprinting in his very entrailes the law of Nature, which should perswade him to good, and disswade him from evill.

And because all naturall operations are pleasing, and contrary ones painefull; man doth in his owne very acting receive his reward, and his punishment, from whence proceeds that inward joy which comforts good men, and afflicts bad ones.

But since man through sinne was divided, and withdrew from this law, the senses imbued with another contrary one, more sharpe and vehement, he was forced, to goe and assist the naturall law, which borne in the soule, was oppressed by that law which came from without in the members to counterpoise and overcome it; assisting

it with outward punishments and rewards. which though they be needfull in all nations and all sorts of people, yet are they not required for all men, of the same kind.

The rewards of inferiour people, is money, of Nobles honour, the punishment for the one death: for the other infamy. In former times great spirits were satisfied, with the reward of an Olive, or Oaken garland: a ring, a chaine, a feather, a scarfe, and for greater matters with a triumph: and the deniall of a triumph after it was deserved was a punishment sufficient: and this was done at such times as it was the vulgar sort of peoples reward to divide the spoile amongst the Souldiours, and the conquered land among the people.

Such were the proceedings in Commonwealths composed of Optimacy, and especially in that of Rome, where it may be easily knowne, by those that read the histories of it, that the rewards were such, and the like of punishments by such as examine the said histories: VVhere they shall find, that whole Armies have bin tithed, putting each tenth man to death, for faults which have bin committed in them: and never any Nobles put to death for losing of battells, or ill guiding of their Armies.

or any other offence, untill wee come to *Spurius Melus*, whose crime was against the State: Whereby we must needs conclude, that either in *Rome* they neglected one fundamentall Pillar of Government, which is punishment, in the Nobility or that for them infamy and disgrace was a sufficient one.

The Rewards were altered, when desire of wealth came in: not because Noble minds altered their object, and giving over the desire of glory, did wholly cast themselves upon their own interests; but because the object it selfe was altered; and yet not changed quite, but onely communicated to another. The Ring, the Chain, the Laurell, the Olive Garland, were not the objects of generous mindes, no more are riches now at this time; but they had the first for honour, and these last for that which they had gained. For the honour consisting not in him that is honoured, but in the honourer; it is not in a mans choyce what to bee honoured with, or to be rewarded more by one thing than by another: he must onely look what thing is most honoured by common applause. Thence growes the ordinary errour of subjects, who in applying themselves, doe not follow their own *genius*, but ambition, which cals men to that, where glory is reputed greatest. But the same thing is not in re-

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pure in every place, nor in the same place at all times, nor the same thing, in the same manner. *Romane* vertues were vices amongst the *Parthians*.

In *Rome* Eloquence was first contemned, then afterwards honoured: sometimes Asiaticall, sometimes Laconicall, sometimes plaine, sometimes garnished Eloquence was applauded; sometimes that which pleased the eare, sometimes that which best perswaded the minde: and all this comes to passe, because the true object of the principall powers of the soule, being wanting in the world (even like a sicke man, that cannot finde rest in any place) we alwayes change our place, because we will not despaire of finding it. It was the people that placed honour in riches, because the object of want hindering the object of ambition, they turned to honouring of that which might relieve them.

A right effect of Nature, which not to bee defective, makes that to be most desired which is most necessary: Wherefore it was judged by wise and understanding men, That the desire and appetite of food, was more vehement in man, than any other passion; and therefore if hee had many objects to turn to, and many passions to satisfie, he would first look upon, and satisfie the passion of hunger.

But becauſe honour is expected from the vulgar, more than from the Nobilitie, (who being emulators, and envious, will rather ſeeke to diſgrace than applaud) and they being corrupt, or neceſſitated, honour him moſt that is wealthieſt: it was needfull to procure to be one of the greateſt among theſe, to bee the moſt honoured. After applauſe came Traines of followers, from them ſprang factions and diſſentions, and theſe cauſed the ruines of Common-wealths and kingdomes.

Many Philoſophers knew riches to bee the root of all evils: Wherefore when *Lycurgus* went about to ſecure his Common-wealth, the firſt thing he did, was baniſhing Gold and Silver out of it, and cauſing Leather to be made uſe of inſtead of it. Deceiving himſelfe in this, becauſe hee did not know, that hee did not change the error, but onely did abaſe it by reducing it from a beautifull, to a vile and abject matter; the excellency of the metals, being no the reaſon why Gold and Silver are had in ſuch eſteeme; but becauſe coine and money is made thereof, which is of greateſt value: ſo that the way had been to take money quite away, which could not poſſibly be done, unleſſe he had likewiſe taken away *meum & tuum*, viz. every mans propriety. Wherefore *Plato* having better conſidered

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upon it, resolved to put it quite out of his Cō-mon-wealth, not erring in the finding of the error, but erring in that he beleeved that it might be corrected. Princes did likewise cō-cur in yeelding repute to riches, by honoring those that had wealth; and, many times not so much because they are necessary to get honour, (for it may also be gotten by valour) but because Princes are alwayes richest, but not alwayes valianteſt, it was reason in State to hold wealth up in mens esteem, to not augment the reputation of others, and fall into contempt themselves, it being also a common desire in man, that the thing which they have most of, should be most in esteem.

Then Princes in Monarchicall government are participant of this error, the Senate in Common-wealths, and People in all kind of States: and therefore together with the corruption of the common wealth, came the corruption of rewards into Rome, neither suffices it, though the one part stands firme, if so be the other falls, nor is it sufficient to have an excellent Prince, if hee meet with corrupt People: So that it seemes to be a very hard thing to bring in a reformation of rewards, and being once brought in, it is impossible it should last, without reforming the whole world, which is run on so farre, that he that would now returne to the ancient customes, would sooner be

ſtiled avaricious then prudent. Peradventure the Romans did ill in not changing the puniſhments with the rewards: They did indeed receive ſome change at the diſcretion of Tyrants, and that was when *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Silla*, *Pompey*, *Caſar*, *Craſſus*, *Antonie*, and *Auguſtus* came in, the Axe beginning then to fall upon the moſt eminent and noted Citizens heads, to wreake, and vent their hatred, and ſecure their feare, which, if they had born reſpect to civill juſtice onely, and not to their Deſpoticall intereſt, there could not have wanted gentler, and milder meanes, and every way as effectuall to ſave it from contempt. All that imbrue their hands in bloud for hatred, are Tyrants, and all thoſe as doe it for feare, if they cannot be called Tyrants (the feare being grounded upon reaſon) may very well bee eſteemed unfortunate Princes. The corruption of rewards was then introduced by the want, and corruption of the People, and Policy of the Soveraignes: The corruption of puniſhments by the Tyranny of Princes, and treachery of the Nobles. It is eaſie where Princes are excellent, and the Nobility faithfull, to continue and preſerve puniſhments, in that perfection as they were, in the primitive times of the Roman common-wealth; and this is even the ſame manner as is now uſed in *Spaine*, where infamy

ſamy and diſgrace are ſufficient puniſhments for Noble mens Politick evill actions, which concerne the Prince's ſervice. The debarring them the Prince's ſight, Removing them from the Court, leaving them in oblivion, is as much & as efficacious in that moſt happy Country, as banniſhing, impriſoning, and beheading in other Kingdomes.

Thoſe who blame this manner of proceeding, that the effect, which the example ſhould be, are peradventure deceived. For an irregulate and temerary mind it will not be ſufficient, and for a generous breaſt it needs not.

But becauſe all nations doe not conforme themſelves in giving the preheminency and ſuperiority of this thing which we call reputation, to one and the ſame thing; Some attributing it to Wealth, ſome to Nobility, many to VViſdome, and ſome to beauty: ſome extolling the great man, and ſome the moſt valiant, it will not be amiſſe a little to argue and ſearch out, to which of theſe it is due. And becauſe amongſt ſo many different opinions we cannot have the deciſion from man, we will take it from nature, and bow to that vertue, in which nature hath placed the command.

Lawyers are of opinion, that there is no naturall ſervitude, and that all men are borne

borne free. And though *Aristotle* seeme to say the contrary, yet he doth not meane to yeeld to any more then a character which shall shew not what another is, but what he should be; therewith setting out; not the act, but the inclination. *Ptolomie* meant the same thing in the division of the signes, into commanding and obeying ones, and no man will deny such instincts, who reading Histories, will consider so many Nations, which without any outward violence to force them, or art to perswade them, have voluntarily submitted themselves to the command of him, whom they have held in greatest repute.

But in assigning of that vertue, which naturally is commanding, I will take leave to differ and recede from *Aristotles* opinion; for whilest he seekes to set down what men ought to command, and who to obey, making (or else I erre) an evill distinction of men; He doth not resolve the question well, by saying, that some are borne with much strength, and little understanding; others with much understanding and little strength, the one kind being fit to serve, and the other to command, the first shall be borne to servitude, the last to command.

He leaves out one part of men who are borne with both these, and another who

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have neither of them, and are incapable either of serving or commanding.

He to whom nature hath given onely a great understanding, was made but to contemplate and teach, if he were made to command, it was onely in a Schoole. He that hath valour onely, whom we call temerary, troubles all the world, and is nothing but violence. To the third, namely to him that hath both, the Scepter, in my opinion is due, and to him indeed, for the most part, People have granted it, when it hath bin in their power to give it: as to *Saturne*, *Iupiter*, *Hercules*, *Romulus*,, and so many others; The Gentiles so highly esteeming him that hath those two characters of valour and wisedome (which both goe to the framing of true Fortitude) that where they have found them both united, they have even adored them. I doe indeed find that sometimes men have also submitted themselves to a man, who hath bin onely of an eminent understanding, as to *Pythagoras*, *Lycurgus* and *Numa Pompilius*. But I hold this dominion to be but little more naturall then the other, which hath onely valour appropriated to it, though one be given, the other violently taken, this latter called Tyrannicall, and the other, Kinglie. Peradventure they are both tyrannicall, one offering (as I may say) no lesse violence with his art, to the foule,

soule, then the other doth with his force to the bodies. And if we consider well the dominion which is obeained by understanding, it alwayes brings along with it, one of the attributes of the violent, namely of not being durable. Wherefore those that are such; to keep themselves long in command, have had their recourse to art, when the favour of nature hath failed them, feigning to have had some commerce with the Gods. So that in mine opinion we may say, that the understandingest doth command by cunning, the most rash by violence, and he that is endowed with true Fortitude, by nature.

And indeed nature whose chiefe aime is to preserve the *Species*, inclines man to obey him who may best preserve him: And because he that hath fortitude is such a one, he shall before others be set in this naturall state, free from all violence: and men will obey him in whom they shall see this vertue shine more then in others.

Coriolanus, did not so much desire to bee honoured himselfe, as to be commended to his Mother, he esteemed of honours, because they caused joy in her. But why should others joy increase ours, whether it be that of our Parents, and Kindreds, or our friends?

Man

Man is so set upon the satisfying of his passions, and the passions, are so joyned and linked together, and also desirous to be satisfied, that the perfectly pleasing of ones passion, or the being content with having pleased it, is not ordinarily attained unto, when the rest are froward and distasted. For satisfaction of the sense of tasting, savoury meat would be sufficient.

But he that will have it perfumed, seeks to content the smelling also. If he desires colour, handsomnesse, and shape; he seeks to have the eye also pleased therewith; and that the hearing likewise may have its delight, he will eate his meat where there is playing and singing. Neither there doth the sensuality of man, composed of soule and body, rest, though his body wallow in delights, the passions of the soul must also have some food, feeding his ambition with fineness of Table-linnen, richnesse of vessels, number of attendants, invention, disposition and singularity.

In the sense of feeling, man should be content with softnesse: but hee will have beauty for the eyes, he desires perfumes to please the smell, Nobility and vertue to appay his ambition; and to content his irascall part, could he not also satisfie himselfe with the death of his enemy? No; fully to please the passions of his minde (though he

he oftentimes doe it with losse and danger) he will vain-gloriously have it known that it was he that slue him; and the greater his innocency was, the more he rejoyces in his revenge. These examples are so cleare, that they put it out of all question, that mans desire is not content with the satisfaction of the passions of the body, if he doth likewise in some sort partly satisfie his ambition. The same (as I believe) happens as truly (though not so plainly) in the satisfying of ambition. Cold and unsavoury seeme the advancements to honours and dignities, all increases of greatnesse (let them be of never so great moment) seem despicable, if there be not some content likewise given to the two chiefe passions of the body, Irascible, and Concupiscible. Thereunto hath regard, the desire of having at that time, both those we love, and those we hate, alive, that we may rejoyce at the griefe which wee see in the one, and the pleasure which we espy in the other.

That is a kinde of revenge belonging to the Irascible, and this a kind of benefit done to him who is beloved, which may be reduced to the Concupiscible. Hee will thinke himselfe unfortunate, who arriving to any happinesse, hath not these two spectators, a friend and an enemy. Hence proceeds the originall cause of his excessive delight, who comes

comes to great preferment in his fathers life time, because that in this case both the foresaid affections are satisfied, the sonne being both beloved & also emulated by the father. And though the emulation bee not so apparant, yet sometimes there is as much of it, as there is of love, lesse discovered but sometimes more sharp: whereupon he did very well, that made it the chiefe of his joyes, that his Father and his mother had seen him ride in triumph.

And it is no marvell, if he did desire the presence of the one more than of the other, because in the other wants emulation: And indeed the delight is more perfect, which we receive from the love that belongs to both, than from the emulation which belongs particularly to the Father, it failing (unlesse it be by reflection) of any desire which may produce griefe.

But how can it bee, that a mans joy encreasing by his friends rejoycing, his sorrowes should decrease by his friends grieving at his sorrowes? St. *Thomas* saith, that the friends griefe is considered, not as a reall thing, but as a mark and signe of one: not as a dolorous passion, but as a signe of love, whereby the comfort is received. To this learned saying might also be added; That a friend being beloved as one's selfe, we desire that all his actions should be perfect; where-

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sure it doth trouble us to see him rejoyce in our calamities, and we are glad when with his sorrow hee sympathizes with us in them. The former being a signe of his slighting us, and the other of his constancy in affection. Adde to this finally, the delight a man takes when he findes he hath made a happy choice of a friend, and grief which oppresses him if he proves false.

Samiticus, King of *Egypt*, being taken prisoner by *Cambyses*, sees his daughter in a servile habit drawing of water, his sonne guarded by armed men to his death, he looks upon them both with dry eyes. Afterwards he sees one of his friends half naked, and all most starved, begging food to keepe him alive, hee abandons himself to grief, weeping and lamentation. The solution of this knot is very difficult. *Cambyses* desires to know the reason, and causeth *Samiticus* to be examined about it: as if he that does a thing, alwayes knew the reason why hee doth it. He many times is ignorant of it, and oftentimes whereas the action produces the effects, he makes it to be produced by the effects, either to conceale the true cause, or to boast of a wisdome which he hath not, but onely prepostorous, ascribing the works of Fortune to his own prudency. The captive King answeres, That he having no griefe to equall to the two first calamities, had sacrificed

ced it to the third, as worthy of it. Others will say, that the two first brought him to the highest pitch of suffering; and the third forced him to run headlong into lamentation. Neither of these solutions satisfie me: One savours of Poetry, and the other is not altogether Philosophicall. The greater grief (according to *Hippocrates* doctrine) doth not suffer the lesser to be felt, then it was either greater, or of another nature: greater only would not have been sufficient to extract teares, it would rather have hindered the eyes from weeping: it was of another nature, namely, a mixture of joy and griefe: the first with its heat being able to soften and open that passage which the last with its cold had closed up to teares.

None that loves, but if he love vehemently, sometimes when he raves and dotes most, will consider his friend in the middest of his troubles and dangers, with some kinde of pleasure; whereby he believes to shew and manifest the sincerity of his affection, either by taking him out of his afflictions, or bearing him company in his miseries. If this desire being but onely speculated, and contemplated, doth please one, what will it doe when it is put in practice? It will produce a griefe full of delight, which rather causes a kinde sweetned tendernesse, than affliction or sorrow of the heart, from which

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we muſt confeſſe it drawes teares, but very pleaſing ones. Hence proceeds, that ſometimes he that really falls into troubles and misfortunes, beholds with dry eyes, others who participate thereof onely through affection, powre out Oceans of teares. There being wanting in him that part of pleaſure which opens the cataracts of tears, kept in and ſealed up, through the ſharpneſs of griefe: whereas the other, becauſe the griefe is not properly his owne, but onely bred in him through his friends affliction, being as it were produced by imitation, hath alſo a kinde of delight almoſt continually mixed with it.

An excellent Actor, who on ſtage relates ſome Tragick Scene, feeles a kinde of griefe in himſelfe; and if he doth not, he doth not exquiſitely act his part; and if he doth, who can deny, but that it is with a moſt ſweet and pleaſing grief, which hath its originall from a moſt pleaſant imitation.

All theſe wayes as being accidentall peradventure increaſe not the ſubſtance of the joy: they may peradventure dilate it, but not ſink, nor make it grow deep, unleſſe it be when our friends joy ſurpaſſes ours, either by the ſtrongneſs of his apprehending it, or the faintneſſe of his temperament; for then it works in us, according to the degree which it hath attained unto. What true

true-hearted man can see a friend in his troubles grieve more than himselfe, but it must increase and augment his griefe; and will rather seek to comfort his friend, than be comforted by him: griefe working in him no more as a signe, but as a thing reall; and because greater, therefore increasing. *Coriolanus* therefore had reason to desire, that his famous actions should be related to his mother, any thing that increased her joy, gi- him much satisfaction; because the femi- nine temperament being more apt to re- ceive affections, he could perceive it greater in her than in himselfe; and measuring the greatnesse of the action, by the degrees of the content which it produced, he found the action greater in his mothers rejoycing, than in his own.

Coriolanus desires the Consulship of the people, and when he sues for it, he puts off his Robe, the custome of those times was such. Whether it was (saith *Plutarch*) to shew his scarres, and cause his valour to ob- lige them, or to shew himselfe submisse, and so perswade them with a seasonable hum- blenesse, because in those dayes vertues were more prevalent with the people than wealth.

I cannot be perswaded this should be the intent of this custome. The scarres might have been shewen without putting off his

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his Robe, or the putting it off would not have ſufficed. A ſuppliant humility is good with a mans equals, not with his inferiors, in whom it breeds a kinde of loathing, to ſee a great man, who ſhould command them abaſe himſelfe ſo much.

It ſeemes that a man, as if he did imprint thoſe qualities which are in himſelfe, in his garment, when he thinkes they might be available to him, hee puts it on, and when he beleeves they will doe him hurt, he puts it off. Thoſe Fathers which remained in *Rome*, when it became a prey to the *Gaules*, did put on their Senatoriall habits, which for a while bridled the *Gauls* inſolency. That *Fabius*, who paſſed untouched amongſt the enemies, puts on his Prieſtly habit, and ſacrifices. *Leo* the Pope put on his Pontifical habit, and appeaſes the wrath of the barbarous Tyrant. Contrariwiſe, *Davids* childe falls ſick, he rents and layes away his garments. Job feels his ſorrowes increaſing, and puts them off. Neither is that enough in great afflictions, many proceed further, pulling off their haire, and even teasing their fleſh: every thing then repreſents it ſelf to them full of that quality which doth at that time torment them. And they would make themſelves beleeve, that they could diminiſh it by pulling off their garments, throwing away their haire, and powring out their blood, as

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if together with them they did put off, throw away, and powre forth part of the tormenting griefe which afflicts them.

The Senatoriall dignity was hatefull to the people, because they could not devest themselves of the degree, they put off the Robe, as if in that lay the whole hatred, if not part of it. For the shewing a sudden change from a Commander to a suppliant, from a man clothed in Robes to a devested one, did much availe to put off hatred, and gain compassion. A Catastrophe (though false) did violently incline the mindes to a kinde of tendernesse; as in a Tragedy we see sometimes circumstances almost forcibly draw teares from the hearers eyes, though they know all is but fained and fabulous. I have seen the King my Master on that day we celebrate the commemoration of the washing of the Apostles feet, when he had laid away his Cloke and Rapier, to fit himhimselfe for so pious a mystery, draw abundance of teares from the beholders eyes. The putting off the Robe did abate a great deale of the peoples hatred: and that which the laying away of the Robe had not done, the Catastrophe altered. And because he that hath a fellow-feeling, desireth also to assist, and the compassion being greatest where the greatest change is, and the greatest change being in him that deserves most: the people

desired

desired to raise him that was of greatest merit, and exalt him to the Consulat dignity. They had assuredly done it in our case; being resolved to bestow it upon *Coriolanus*, if he appearing the next day with a great train of Senators at his heeles, had not destroyed his first shew of humility, by this second of pride, taking away the compassion, and giving way for them to kindle their anger a new, and therewith their hatred, which changed those tender thoughts of raising him, into as many sharpe inclinations to oppresse him.

Vertue can only be judged of naked: all kinds of accoutrements deforme it, it is an ornament to all things, and to it selfe both ornament and substance. He that will not loath her, let him behold her unarrayed; and he that will judge of her, let him view her naked. The Trojan Shepheard had not bin deceived, had he beheld the three Goddesses naked: He had giv̄ sentence on Pallas side, had not her helmet, speare, shield, and the rest of her armour puzled him.

Vertue is both good and faire. Goodnesse, and beauty are the objects through which, will, satisfaction, and love passe to the understanding. How can you conceive vertue to be otherwise but faire and good if you consider it as vertue: and in what other shape can you consider it, if it doth not appeare

peare naked unto you. Hate, Rage and Envy cannot touch it, they are mothes which ſtick onely on the garments, wormes that inhabit putrifaction onely; ſtrip her of applauſes, wealth, and all other vaine habiliments, if thou wilt have her be ſecure, and enamour thee. This vertue which being once known, violently ſtirres up love, takes impreſſion in mens hearts (ſometimes in the Great ones, ſometimes in the Peoples) by very different wayes. Some would have it remaine within the ſpheare of mediocrity, ſome would raiſe it up to the concave of the Moone. It is not alwayes envy which deſires it low, nor love that continually deſires to have it exalted. Sometimes it happens, becauſe a Great one would come into a ſtrict league of friendſhip with it, and the People would by its means enjoy an honorable ſervitude. He that is poſſeſſed of ſuch a noble gemme may communicate it to ſome by a relation of friend to friend; to others of Maſter, to Servant. The one to be perfect requires equality; the other to bee pleaſing, a kind of diſtance. The greater the Maſter is, the more honorable is the ſervant: and the more cordiall the friend is, the greater equality is between them. But the connexion which the People hath with a perſon of eminent vertue, is like a ſervant to his Lord, and he is deſirous to exalt

him. But the great ones is as one friends to another, and he doth not desire to have him advanced. *Aristotle* though he makes equality too necessary in friendship; sometimes attributing it to superabundancy, sometimes to want, as if he discovered the truth out of its due distance, and with a hindred and obstructed meanes; seemes to contradict himselfe, and pretend it to proceed from a great equality.

He either was or would be deceived, he needed to have bin neither, if he had affirmed that both these causes united, did produce a most strict league of friendship. Superabundancy, and want, if one of them alone be divided into two subjects, brings forth either slavery, or its image. The poor, is the rich mans slave, and the Scholar the Masters, and if he be not, he is like some such thing.

Of two superabundancies and two wants, there is framed an almost indissoluble bond of friendship. The People that find in themselves nothing but defect, goe towards vertue, and desire to have it made great, because they will serve it. The great one who with the defect of vertue, hath superabundancy of honour and wealth, would find him out who hath superabundance of what he wants, with defect of his superabundance, and desires to have him low, be-

because he would make him his friend. And if this latter comes also to be exalted to honours and wealth, the other loses his superabundancy, and remaines with defect onely: He hath nothing whereon to found the harmonious equality which produces friendship; and because he abhorres the character of being a servant, he hates that vertue exalted, which he venerated when it was humble. If there be a great pleasure in the world, it consists in doing a benefit, and if there be any greater, it is in requiting it.

Therefore that must needs be exceeding great which is produced by the harmonious interweaving, of abundance, and defect, where the benefit is at the same time done and requited.

Plutarch calls *Coriolanus* proud and impatient; I agree to it. He attributes the cause of it to want of study, I differ from it: Because learning doth not onely not hinder these passions, but according to St. *Paul* saying, produces Pride, and according to *Solomons*, Impatience; I attribute it to his being born in the Roman Commonwealth, which more desirous to increase then to preserve itselfe as it was made more of valour, esteeme in its Citizens thereof Patience. wherefore at the last keeping one still alive, it fell for want of the other.

True it is, that as it is not againſt the law of Patience, that one upon occaſion, when there is need, ſhould violently oppoſe one that operates ill, no more is it of the eſſence of valour, to repaire all dammages, and revenge all offences. But the Romans cared not for theſe qualifications.

That Valour was more uſefull to them, which operated, then that which ſuffered. And becauſe for that part of valour, which lookes after revenge, wrath was very uſefull, and very hurtfull to that which belongs to ſuffering; it is not to be wondred, that ſome of them had the vice of impatience coupled with the vertue of fortitude. *Seneca* would not admit this doctrine of wrath: he would have it rooted out, as if our nature were ſo perfect, that it wanted no inſtigation, to make it operate well, nor no curbe to keep it from working evill.

He that will ſee how man ought to make uſe of wrath, which we alſo call choler, let him conſider what uſe nature makes of that choler which is called *Bilis*. I meddle not with that part which is called *Nutritive*, which ſubtilizes the bloud, that it may the eaſilier nouriſh the parts, which feeds the heart, and the muſculous fleſh, which tempers the cold of the Pituitous humour, with Melancholy. I will ſpeake only of the Excrementall *Bilis*; There is one na-

naturall, and another without nature, or *extra naturam*: One reserved in the Gall bagge, that is to clense and *absterge* the pituitous humors together with the ordures; because like a medicament it instigates, and provokes the expulsive vertue, to send forth that which is not to be retained, and which being retained would kill. The other breeds Dysenteries, Diarees, Deliriums, Frenzies, perfect Tertians, and an infinite of such diseases: And even just so it is with wrath. One kind of wrath is a passion which like that unbridled *Bilis* running on furiously, brings one to a precipice: The other regulated by the understanding, and set apart for some occasion, serves to instigate the vertue of valour: and as Natures excrementall *Bilis* is necessary to expell the excrements; which nature would not move to doe if it were not instigated; so likewise this wrath is necessary for man to drive that away from him which the understanding hath concocted, and judged fit to be driven out.

But nature doth not make use of the *Bilis* onely to expell excrements onely, but also of the serous matter to distribute the bloud; of melancholy to excite the appetite, to retaine the food, and sustaine the body; Of the sharp and serous humour to mixe with the seed to provoke to generation, and pre-

ſerve the kind. Although that ſerous humour bee that which cauſeth Hydropſie, though the *Atra Bilis* produces Quartanes and Cancers, Hypocondries, Rage and Madneſſe, though that from the ſharp ſubtile humour, the greateſt part of the Cutaneall diſeaſes have their beginning: So the minde likewiſe makes uſe of Wrath for Fortitude: of Ambition for Magnanimity; and yet the one produces raſhneſſe, the other pride. That ſtraitneſſe of minde which cauſes avarice, being dilated, makes up parſimony: From that largeneſſe of breaſt, from which ſprings Prodigality, if it bee but a little reſtrained, there proceeds liberality. Finally, the good or hurt that theſe humours of the body, and paſſions of the minde doe produce, proceeds from their being regulated or not regulated; the humours by Nature, and the paſſions by Reaſon. From the making uſe of the ſame humour, both for vertue and for vice, though in a divers manner, comes, that ignorance is oftentimes deceived, and malice confounds vice and vertue, calling prodigality, liberality; raſhneſſe, fortitude; and pride, magnanimity.

It is worthy conſideration, and yet not eaſie to know, why Nature hath made choice of evill humours to make uſe of, to exerciſe the beſt and principall parts of the body: when as it might have diſpoſed the

genera-

generative vertue, the expulsive, the retentive, the appetitive, and the distributive, in such manner, that they might have operated without having need of spurre or instigation. And if they had need of any, why did give it them of such imperfect matter? This knot which by a Gentile is indissoluble, may be resolved by a mean understanding, so that it be Christian, when it shall consider, that *Natura Naturans*, did not create man in such a fashion. There was no ill humour resident in him, every thing was good; all parts obeyed, without any resistance; all vertues operated without any instigation. It was *Adam* and not Nature that placed good and evill in the same subject; and if it were Nature, it was *Natura Naturata*, corrupted by him who disobeying his Creators commands, broke the order of obedience, and put every thing in confusion. The evill of the *Bilis*, of melancholy, and other humors, proceeds from *Adams* sin & retaines the character of disobedience. But if vanity made *Seneca* contrary to *Aristotle*, truth did agree them together again. He confirmes what I have said, hee saith, It is good to make use of wrath as a servant, and that it is naught to be subject to it, as to a Lady and Mistresse.

Patience cõsists not in the not feeling of pain, seldome in doing as if one felt it not, but al-

waies in feeling it as it ought to be felt. There is no ſuch thing as inſẽſibility of paine: if there be, it is not a ſtrongneſs of heart, but a weakneſſe of the minde. He that pretends to have ſuch an inſenſibility, deceives, becauſe hee hath it not; and he that hath it, deceives himſelfe, becauſe he raves, and ſo doth the former too, being ſick with ambition, though not of a Fever. It is bad in proſperity, but in adverſity monſtrous: in the one we muſt uſe violence to our ſelves to keep it away, & in the other we muſt force it to come. It is contrary to the ambitious humor, and therefore a time of miſery is fitting for it.

Where that which ſhould cure, hurts, it is a ſigne that the diſeaſe is long, or mortall. Where the diſeaſe comes out of its due ſeaſon either the humor is malignant, or abounding. The comfort of the afflicted is onely to be born with, the ambitious man is onely hated. Inſenſibility is a vaine oſtentation, when it is not a hurtfull madneſſe, which makes the evill worſe inſtead of remedying it. His aim that offends, is ordinarily to give diſtaſt and to cauſe griefe; which untill he hath attained to, he cannot be quiet: and to overcome a feigned *non-feelingneſſe* of griefe, attempts a greater miſchiefe. The operation of Vertue ought to bee long, and ſlow, to make a difference between a habit and a violent paſſion. Singularity doth not

become

become it; for either it makes it ambitious, and it changes full of, or affectation, and it growes faint and weak. *Diogenes* comes into *Plato's* house, he wonders that it is not a Tub: he sees his Bed, and is scandalized and offended, because it is soft: and when he was to goe by it, not satisfied with contemning it, in a fierce, violent, and proud rage, treads and stamps upon it. The *German* Legions cry up *Vitellius* for Emperour, they see him necessitous of money; with the same heat and violence as they had from a private man raised him to be a Prince, they will also of poore make him rich, every one strives to bring him gold and silver, and whatsoever he hath, that is pretious. The most wretched, that had nothing in his possession for the present to give, gave him whatsoever he had due to him. *Tacitus* considers the action, and to finde out the form, he goes not to the matter, which is capable of contrary formes, he goes in quest of the Motor; and after he hath called it sometimes Inclination sometimes Violence, at last to shew how adverse he is from esteeming it to be Liberality, he breakes out, and calls it by the name of Avarice.

The female Sex, though endowed with a weak heart and very mean understanding, is also subject to impatience, as well as a very valiant man: I would say it were be-

cauſe the delicateneſs of the inſtruments that are ſubſervient to the underſtanding, are likewiſe common to them with man, the moiſtnes of the brain, and the ſofines of the fleſh: were it not that thoſe inſtruments are rather unſinewed and weak, than delicate: the moiſtneſſe rather fluid than viſcous: the ſoftneſſe rather watry than aereall. It will be peradventure more warrantable, to aſſigne the cauſe of it to pride, and wrath, qualities which produce impatiency, and to which that Sex is very prone, And by meanes of the one, they communicate with men of great wit; by the other, with ſuch as have a great heart. But if wrath be ſo predominant in women. how come they to want valour? Say that it is becauſe their choler proceeds from a pallid *Bilis*, which abounds in that Sex, and being ſerous, and fluid, it yeelds no firmneſſe nor conſiſtency. And likewiſe that their ſpirits are moveable, and few; becauſe moveable, they run ſwiftly to the heart, and quickly kindle the fire; becauſe they are few, they cannot feed nor maintain it, and it goes quickly out. From hence doth female inſtability take its origine, thoſe unquiet ſpirits letting goe preſently that which they have received, and being but few, they know not how to retain it. This may alſo be a reaſon why they doe not hit upon the truth, unleſſe it be on a

ſudden.

ſudden. They ſend thoſe ſpirits ſuddenly to the brain; and if they be capable of apprehending the truth, they doe it in that very inſtant: and if not, failing of new ſpirits, they want meanes to attempt a ſtronger operation, and ſo they doe not finde it: and if they have found it, yet they want ſpirits to diſcuſſe it, and ſo they loſe it. Their braine either doth not reach to the truth, or it doth not ſtay and fix there. Many men alſo touched with ſuch a defect, after they have found the truth, if they goe about to bolt and ſift it out carefully, doe loſe it: they have as many ſpirits as will reach to it, and not enough to follow and proſecute it. A moſt acute and learned Author gives another reaſon; Truth, ſaith he, is a moſt bright light, it ſuffers it ſelfe to be looked upon, but not to be examined. He that looks upon the Sunne, ſees it not at the firſt ſight; but if he fixes his lookes upon it, he loſes both Sunne and ſight. This reaſon is more faire than ſound, and is averred by an example more beautifull than fit. The thing which is too ſenſible, doth not appay the ſenſes, but deſtroy them: their object is a mean, and too great a one is an enemy to them. The underſtanding runs towards the greateſt intelligible, it doth not ſtand upon the mean one: neither doth any other truth limit it, than that which is unlimitted. The diſtance

which

which is betweenthe materiall and the immateriall, takes away the proportion: to frame the example. The great ſenſible having taken poſſeſſion of a ſenſe, makes the knowledge of a leſſer impoſſible for it, becauſe it is a ſubſtance. The great intelligible makes it eaſie to the underſtanding, becauſe it is a ſpirit.

The Common-wealth of *Rome* might have taken a healthfull Antidote out of this poyſon of *Coriolanus*, if they had kept him under a civill, not under a military Diſcipline: and if they had kept him under a military one, it ſhould haue been to obey, not to command. The Citie merded him, the Camp made him worſe. Mortifications taught and directed him, applauſes overthrew him. One may do amiſſe, through valour rooted in pride or in affection. One deſerves puniſhment, the other reward; the firſt is moſt pernitious to the Common-wealth, the other exceeding profitable. Time increaſes defect in the former; in the latter, vertue.

Pōponius, Tribune of the people, accuſes *Manlius* his ſon, wch after was *Manlius Torquatus*, who though his father had diſtaſted him, being adviſed rather by courage than by wit, tēder in years, yet more tēder in love, with a rurall, yet affectionate reſolution, comes out of the Countrey (where he dwelt con-

continually) to the City, goes to the Tribunes house, calls him aside, and takes hold on him in such a manner, that he was not able to stirre from him; and drawing a dagger, forces him either to promise to desist from his intention, and let fall his accusation, or to lose his life: The Tribune promises him, and desists. This case was divulged in *Rome*.: There was neither Plebeian, nor Patrician that blamed him. For his tememerity he had deserved death; for his love he was rewarded: they all hope hee will (being instructed) learn to doe that through the direction of vertue, which he had done by violence of Nature, and as much for his Countrey, as he had for his father. Where a man erres through valour and love, the matter deserves correction rather than punishment; and he that did it, deserves a reward rather than a penalty. *Moses* with this Character, full of divine zeale, kills an Egyptian, *Peter* cuts off *Malchus* his eare. The one is made the head of the old Law, conductor of the children of Israel and *Pharaohs* God: the other a head of the new law, a Pastor and head of the Church. *Coriolanus* his valour was grounded upon pride: for it could not be said it was grounded upon affection to his countrey, coming against it armed, and putting it into such straits, that it was very neare lost.

There

There are some defects in young men, which (I was going to say) are commendable, I will say, compatible; and some vertues (I will not say blame-worthy) yet are not to be desired. Where the action is not good because it is superabundant: and the error hath a kinde of conformity with the years, time doth help, and it hurts where it is inconformable: and the sin is more in the quality than the quantity: more in the form than the matter. A tēperate liver in youth, is good for one to live healthfull, to live long it is better to have it exceed in heat. It cools continually, & according as the man grows in years, it loses his superfluous heat, so that as the man grows old, it grows temperate. The hurtfulnes of the excels is in the strength of age, which is able to resist it, & doth not kil. The profit of its temperatnesse is, when Nature hath most need of help, and sustains and assists it. But if the excesse were in the quality of the heat, and in those yeares that it should be favourable, it should shew it selfe nipping, whereas the one, because it alwayes decreases with age, ought to bee left to grow old; the other, because it alwayes increases, must be rooted up. So those young men, who erre through quantity of heat, should grow old in the Citie, and those extirpated, who precipitate by reason of their evill qualities. Of the first quality was *Manlius Torquatus*,

quatus, and they reward him; of the ſecond was the ſon of *Brutus*, and they kill him. If a young man of a fiery nature, be raſh, the fire coolś, and before the time of operating comes, is reduced to a degree that he may operate well; but if he be prudent, cold being required for ſuch an effect, and the temperament cooling with the increaſe of yeares, it may be feared, that before he arrives to the time in which he ſhould make uſe of its vertue, he wil degenerate into vice; and whereas in one caſe the raſh man comes to attaine true fortitude, in the other the valiant man becomes puſillanimous. *Quintilian* would have the Orator in his young age, rather bold than fearfull: The latter would become cold, whereas the firſt yeares favouring him, will make him moderate. Boldneſs ought to overcome judgment, when it is time to learn; but when it is time to operate, it ought to be ſubdued. It will be more eaſie for Art to coole hardineſſe, than to heat judgment, becauſe Nature is favourable to the one, and contrary to the other. All that which is violent, is difficult; yet with a difference between that which is againſt, and that which is conformable to Nature. One may eaſilier throw a ſtone toward the the Center than the Circumference: for it is eaſier to follow than to oppoſe an inclination.

If

If patience meet with greatneſs, or vigour of minde, it raiſeth to that degree of glory towards which many with an unbridled inſufferency (but in vain) directing themſelvs, find nothing but precipices. Suffering beſt befits him that can eaſilieſt revenge himſelf, and gives moſt glory, where it finds greateſt reputation. Where feare cannot be aſcribed to baſeneſs of heart, nor the not knowing, to dulneſs of brain; his contempt muſt be called magnanimity, and his diſſimulation muſt be termed prudency. The leaſt offences are not eaſieſt to be endured, either becauſe they moſt conceale the revenge, or becauſe they ſting more ſharply, or becauſe they are more frequently met with. Theſe are they which ruine Princes, & overthrow Monarchies: they grow infallibly, and yet inſenſibly, and greatneſs coming in, gives no way to forbearance of revenge, without loſſe of reputation. There is a great difference betweene an offence being great at firſt, and its becoming ſuch. One findes man cold, and free, the other heated and engaged: neither can hee ſeem to grow careleſſe of it, when it is grown up, that did not contemne it when it was but ſmall. And having already loſt the name of prudent, by proſecuting of it to that time, he will gaine the name of Puſillanimous, if hee then gives it over. A diſeaſe which becomes malignant by degrees

grees, is more mortall than that which begun so. The Prince which wil not bear with his subjects, endangers the changing his name of Prince, into Tyrant: and he that will not beare with strangers, endangers his kingdom to become a private man. A prince his own patience is not sufficient for the quiet of his kingdome, if his officers also be not endued with it, in whom it being equally requisite, it is farre more difficult: A man may easily suffer in his own interests, who is impatient in his Lords. For the one, he hopes to reap glory and profit through his patience, and so beares. In the other, to gaine it from revenge, and so he puts forward. Hee that offends the Prince before his Officer, offends both the Prince and his Officer, whereby obliging him to two patiences, hee makes the sufferance almost intollerable. These imagine that the zeale of their masters reputation moves them to a resentment, and oftentimes it is their own arrogancy, wherewith they embroyle Princes, obliging them to warres, into which they are engaged more by others than their own impatiences; and this happens oftenest, where the States and Dominions are most remote. That remotenesse which is most favourable to the Prince for his suffering, is contrary to the Officers. One doth not see the injuries, the other, the Prince.

When

When *Aristotle* blames the Lacedemonians for attributing every thing to the vertue of fortitude, ſaid, that one vertue was not ſufficient; and if one alone were to be choſen, Fortitude was not it. He named not that, to which he attributed the chiefe honour, if he had named it, in mine opinion, it had bin patience, becauſe virtually it containes all other vertues in it, as the ſeed doth both roote, fruit, and ſtemme. If morall vertues are ordained to good, in as much as they keep within the bounds of reaſon againſt the violence of paſſions, and when theſe doe joyne with any vice, patience is the onely guide of them, who can deny it to hold the firſt and ſupreame place amongſt them?

As the Phyſician cures the diſeaſes of the body, ſo patience corrects the defects of the ſoule. They both worke by removing the obſtacles. I confeſſe more like inſtrumentall, then efficient cauſes. But if the Phyſician bee ſaid to occaſion health, though it be not he, but nature; Patience ſhall likewiſe be called the productrix of all vertues.

So that *Coriolanus* his impatience (for we muſt call him impatient, if we will not attribute the name of baſe to the Senate) put him in danger of his life; and though his great vertue, revereneed by the People, was ſufficient to free him from death, yet by

by reaſon that was feared alſo, it was not able to keepe him from baniſhment. One of the greateſt and ordinarieſt errors, that croſſes the good direction of Politick affaires, is that Princes and common-wealths either know not how, or through malignity will not, in time make uſe of that valour, which fortune hath abundantly beſtowed upon ſome ſubject of theirs. Dominions are increaſed by the hand and meanes of a ſubject which is advantagiouſly valorous and fortunate.

Whoſe valour by bringing to paſſe the moſt difficulteſt enterpriſes, findes no obſtacle able to reſiſt it, all that he ſees, he conquers: Whoſe fortune meets with no chance, but it proves favourable to him, all what he does not ſee is likewiſe aſſiſting to him. Such a man is now and then borne in an eſtate of ſo low a degree, and himſelfe ſo poore, that without ever doing any thing, or at leaſt equall, or partly worthy, his fortune and valour; he dies inglorious, but ſeldome without leaving at leaſt ſome little modell, whereby others may as with proſpective glaſſe ſee what a Coloſſus they have neglected to build, through want of matter.

That character which in a great ſtatue attracts even the dimmeſt eyes to behold it, in a little one, is not ſeene many times

by

by the moſt perſpicuous ſight. Sometimes alſo this man is borne in ſome conſpicuous place, and of ſuch a fortune, that at the very firſt flaſhing of his actions, he makes that beame ſhines out which lies incloſed in his breaſt. But thoſe which rule Kingdomes, or governe Common-wealths, though they have good intentions, yet looking more upon the age then the fortune of the man, advancing him by degrees, ſeldome admit him to great affaires, where he might have performed ſome high and ſpecially ſervices, till it is too late; and hee growen old, after he hath tired his fortune in actions of no moment, and his declining age hath made him good for little. To linger out fortune, of a great ſubject is a great error, yet not worthy of any ſevere puniſhment. Ignorance herein may be excuſed, Careleſſeneſſe endured, but hee that hinders it through envy, hatred and malice, calls Gods wrath upon him; and ſometimes ſees it viſibly come. Loſing himſelfe for want of him, whom he hath loſt. Or to prevent his owne ruine, bowing to him whom he hath deſpiſed.

Such a man is happy, and by him his dominions, if he be borne a Prince. Moſt happy, if in ſuch a time as enterpriſes are already ſet on foot, and he able to follow them. Or that obſtacles be removed in ſuch ſort

that

that they may not oblige him, to tire his fortune upon them before he goes about them. If *Henry* the Fourth had found the Kingdome of France, entire, flouriſhing, peaceable within, and at wars abroad; as he found it divided, deſtroyed, unquiet, plunged in civill wars, what could he not have done with ſo much fortune and valour? he did much indeed, yet did he not a whit increaſe his dominions: He waſted himſelfe in gayning his owne, and when he begun to caſt his mind upon other mens, both fortune and time failed him.

If *Guſtavus* King of Sweed could at the very firſt have employed all his fortune and power in Germany, and had not bin intangled in the Muſcoviters & Poliſh wars, I know not who could have hindred or croſſed him from attaining to his vaſt and unlimited deſires. If *Alexander* had bin to begin the wars of Greece, & not found them, almoſt finiſhed by his father, he had never come to be *the Great*, becauſe he would not have had time to ſettle ſo great a Monarchy. By this meanes thoſe Kingdomes do much increaſe which ſucceſſively meet with many warlike, valorous, & fortunate ſubjects, and by this meanes grew up the Turkiſh Monarchy. Aſſiſting of confederates, is a great aide to the gaining of conqueſts, the violence of the enemies fortune broken upon them,

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and tired out or ended, comes in relieſe; And by this meanes grew up the Common-wealth of Rome.

Unhappy ſhall this our ſubject be, though irradiated with ſo many benigne influences of the heavens, if he chance to be borne under a Tyrant. He hinders him, expells him, kills him.

Tiberius overthrew *Germanicus* his fortune in Germany. *Nero*, *Corbuloes* in Armenia, *Domitian Agricolaes* in England, and all of them the publicks fortune, becauſe they would ſave their owne? The Tyrant cannot thinke himſelfe Lord, whileſt he ſees one before his eyes that ſhould be ſo; and is ſo indeed by right, and nature; whereas the Tyrant is ſo but onely by fortune. Indeed he is happy if he be borne under a Prince that hath his heart free; he runs into his familiarity, as the ſtone goes to the center; The Prince receives him into it, as the defect doth ſuperabundancy; both he, the Prince, and the ſtate become happy. Wiſe and happy is that Soveraigne, who knowes how to joyne and adde to the fortune which himſelfe was borne in, a fortune to which another was borne.

In free and ſound Common-wealths it is a happineſſe for a man to be borne fortunate, and valiant, but not in corrupt ones; Envy, and Malice which were never root-

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ed out of the Common-wealths of Greece, and particularly out of the Athenian, would not ſuffer it to come to that degree of greatneſſe, to which the ſcituation of the City, and valour of the Citizens did ſeeme to promiſe to raiſe it.

The Oſtraciſme was the ſtone at which they ſtumbled. It perſecuted the moſt eminent, and to doe it with greater prejudice, whereas (if ſo be they feared ſuch a mans fortune) they ſhould have hindered and reſtrained it, they did not, but let it at liberty by baniſhing them, not onely depriving themſelves of ſo great an advantage, but alſo, and that for the moſt part giving it to their enemies; as if they had deſpiſed that fortune, and valour, when it was againſt them, which had affrighted them when it was on their ſide.

This peſtiferous worme came not into the Roman Senators mindes, in a long time; and becauſe it was a worme, it crept in with the corruption of the Common-wealth, wherefore finding it already great, it did not hinder the increaſe, but the laſtingneſſe of it.

It is true that it quickly tooke roote in the Tribunes, but becauſe the People was free, they were fearefull to deceiue them; to the end that raging, and ignorant they ſhould without being envious or malicious, worke

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according to their envy and malice. But becauſe the rage was quickly appeaſed, and gave way, that the light of truth, might of its owne accord manifeſt it ſelfe, or that the Senates dexterity ſhould diſcover it, though it occaſioned no ſmall dammage, and that more then once, yet it came not to that degree as it would have done, if it had bin the Peoples ſo properly, as it was onely by participation.

He that will in our caſe ſee the Romans fortune, paſſe over to the enemy, in *Coriolanus* his perſon, let him conſider the Volſci led by this man, with a more then Roman valour, and the Romans without him, more daſtardly, and abject then the Volſci. And hee that wil ſee Envy and Malice puniſhed, let him behold the Romans humbly ſuing at the obdurat conquerors feet, making them know they were more indebted to a womans teares for their Countries deliverance, then to their owne valour or eloquence. How came the Gaules to conquer and take Rome, but becauſe they found the Cities fortune baniſhed in the perſon of *Furius Camillus*; And what freed it againe, but the returne of him, whom they had exiled.

Frances good fortune by ſea, paſſed over into Spaine with *Doria*, and with *Burbon* their proſperity by land. Another time it

was

was ſeen adhere to the Dukes of *Guiſe*, and *Humene*, if they had not ſought to make it obedient to their own particular deſires.

Many have erred, becauſe they have not in time known this fortune in their owne Citizens, to make uſe of it: and many alſo becauſe they have not perceived it in their enemies, to defend themſelves againſt it. When they have ſeen it come againſt them, inſtead of ſhunning it like prudent, they have raſhly gone to encounter it like foole-hardy.

When they ſhould have followed the current of it, to keep it with them, they have oppoſed it to overthrow it. *Hamibals* fortune came in its prime with him into Italy: like a fierce torrent it overthrew whatſoever withſtood it. The Romanes ſhockt with it foure times, and it ſtill increaſed: if they had perſiſted, they had bin loſt. They happened at laſt to put the managing of Martiall affaires into the hands of *Fabius Maximus*, who thinking patience and circumſpection more available in warre then celerity and fury: not a purpoſe, but by chance, not knowing what he did, whileſt he thought by military art to tire out the Souldiers valour, he did weare out the Generals fortune with a Politick document: I ſay by chance, becauſe time, and occaſion

being changed, he rather obſtinate then conſtant, would ſtill perſiſt in his firſt way of proceeding, did Prognoſticate that the ruine of Rome would proceed from thoſe things, from which its greateſt increaſes had her beginning.

He knew not that fortune there begun in *Scipio*, where it ended in *Hannibal*; and that it was time now to ſhock with that, which hee had long given way to, and to put that fortune forward, which he meant to delay. *Hannibal* knew it, and did what he could to avoid the triall, to not ſhock againſt a budding and vigorous fortune, with his old, withered, and decayed ſucceſſe.

The greateſt conqueſts that ever the Romanes had, were in the beginnings of their good fortune, while it was tender, and no way obſtructed. The Carthaginians likewiſe availing themſelves of *Hannibals* fortune had notably advanced themſelves. It gave them ſo much time, that had they not met with ſuch an exceſſive power as they did, which was able to receive ſo many overthrowes, without quite loſing themſelves, and overcome after ſo many loſſes, firſt wearying out *Hannibals* fortune, and then overthrowing it; they had doubtleſſe attained to the Monarchy of the world.

Where-

Wherefore *Alexanders* fortune was much to be admired, which being to last but a short time, happened to encounter with a Monarch would violently oppose it, and came to triall with it, not knowing how to give it way, to tire it, and weary it out with delayes.

Coriolanus goes to *Tullus*, the head of the *Volsci*, relates his misfortunes to him, tells him what affronts had been offered him, exaggerates the longing desire of revenging them, desires assistance, with promise of victory. *Tullus* joyfully entertaines him, put into hopes, doth assist him; mollified, gives him the command of the Army, and inconsiderate, commits the whole managing of the businesse to him.

No sooner doth an object present it selfe to a mans eyes, by whose valour hee thinkes to free himselfe from any trouble, or obtaine any great benefit, but presently he will give him whatsoever he can: and whatsoever he is not able at the present to give him, he promises more largely, than if hee had already by his meanes avoided that danger which he feared, or obtained that benefit which he desired; because that a past evill loseth its terriblenesse, and a benefit already gotten its delightfulnesse. He values nothing he hath, to avoid that he would not should befall him, or to obtain that which he would

have. He imagines he ſhall have all things, if he hath avoided the one, or gained the other, ſo he doth evill for the preſent, through deceitfull hope of the future. And unfortunately manages what he hath in poſſeſſion, through an erroneous opinion of what he deſires. Sometimes a man ſhall finde himſelfe neceſſitated to ſuppreſſe and bring down one, who had formerly done him ſervice in oppreſſing of his enemy, or emulator: when he raiſed him, he had no thought of any thing but onely of his deſire. What he gave him, he weighed not but with the ſcale of paſſion. Even as a Phyſician that oppoſeth ſo much heat to a cold diſeaſe, as may be ſufficient to drive the diſeaſe away, neither conſidering nature, whether it be able and ſtrong, nor yet the ſeaſon whether it be hot or cold, muſt within a little while to controll and oppoſe that heat which hee himſelfe hath caused: So hee that raiſeth a man as much as he thinkes will be ſufficient to oppreſſe his enemy, making no reckoning of his worth, if it be great, or of the peoples favour, if he chance to prove fortunate, will quickly become his *emulator*, & not lõg after that, his enemy. All is ill for him that gives, and ſometimes alſo for him that receives. If the former hath not obtained what hee deſires, there comes repentance; if he hath obtained,

tained, and hath no more mind to give, there proceeds a wearineſſe and loathing. If the other hath taken more than was given him, there is feare in him; if the people have aſſiſted him, there is envy: So that a man is obliged either to leave that which hee hath received, and ſo depart; or if he ſtay, to take that which was not given him.

Coriolanus, who could not attain to that as he wanted, ſhould have forſaken that which he had received; and rather abſenting himſelfe, leave a kind of admiration of him to ſurvive, than abiding there, expoſe himſelfe to envy, which to ſtrangers is the way to precipice.

Seneca received too much from *Nero*; he found his error too late, and bethought himſelfe too late of retiring and leaving him. To conceale the feare of his Diſciples brutiſhneſſe, hath a recourſe to Philoſophy, and makes the cauſe of it to be his modeſty; but *Nero*, to hide his cruelty and avarice, rejects his liberality, and under a pretence of juſtice, takes all again by cruelty. All Art and Cunning is vain for him that is not able to withſtand and reſiſt violence, and every thing proves ſucceſsful to him that is able to uſe any force, and yet make men beleeve that he doth not commit any. He cares not for offering violence to the body onely

which is subject to him, he will also subject the minde, which is free, and to perswade he doth not doe it where he can, he will endeavour to doe it where he cannot.

The people will exile *Coriolanus*; the Senate defends him; the people overcomes, the Senate mournes.

Coriolanus comes a Conquerour to the Walls of the Citie, the people repents, and would receive him: the Senate having altered its minde, would not admit him.

A man works for some imaginary good, and oftentimes before hee arrives to it, he stumbles at some evill which hee did not think upon. Upon this the operator is at a stand dejected, thinking hee was deceived also in that wherein hee had guessed right. To remedy the evill which is already past, he deprives himselfe of the good which is to begin. For one, the time is past; and for the other, it is not yet come: He will correct the error when he hath already done all the hurt: He either changes the operation, or leaves it: if he changes it, he receives a new losse; if he leaves it, it doth not countervaile that which hee hath already received. Many times actions are begun when they should not, & given over when they should be most followed. An action ought not alwayes to be intermitted, or left off, because it

it was ill done; not alwayes followed, because it is well done.

He that findes prejudice in an action, runs presently to undoe it. Nature inclines, and Art teaches us how to seek remedy from the contrary. But not every contrary is a remedy, that which is so, sometime is so concealed, that it seemes to be a semblable.

All the infirmities are not healed, and the reason is, because sometimes the nature, and sometimes the degree of the contrary, is unknown. When one should have recourse to the last of the formes, he flies for relieſe to the first of the qualities. Rationall Physicians know, one ought to cure with the contrary, but they know not with which. They confound the diseases; they doe not distinguish that which hath been brought in by the Essence from that which the Accidents only have introduced; the ingendered from the altered. Opposed qualities are sufficient to expell the one, and the other requires a contrary form.

The Empyrickes, which will heale with the like, are deceived; either they cure not at all, or by a contrary. They say that one salt is a remedy for another, and do not consider that it doth not operate like salt, wherein consists the resemblance, but as the one is volatile, and the other fixed, from whence

ſprings the contrariety. The Senate was the *Fixed* Salt, which cured the Cõmonwealth of *Rome* from the *Volatile* of *Coriolanus*. They will not conſent to his return, whoſe baniſhment they bewailed. The people will have him recalled, whom they themſelves had baniſhed: their love to the Commonwealth, leſt it ſhould become a prey to the Tribunes, was the cauſe why the Senate defended *Coriolanus*, their owne intereſt the cauſe why they pitied him. The ſame love, becauſe they will not have it fall into his hands as a tyrant, makes them to not readmit him now he is an enemy; and the ſame intereſt envies him now victorious. The feare which poſſeſſes the people, while he was a Citizen, is the cauſe they baniſh him. And a greater feare which they conceive of him, now he is an enemy, cauſes them to recall him. The moſt ordinary affections that take root in great ones, are Compaſſion and Envy; if they ſee their equall in an unhappy condition, they pitie him; if happy, they envy him: the fear they have that the ſame thing may not befall them, makes them to pitie him: the ſhame which poſſeſſes them, becauſe they cannot reach to what he is attained ſtirres up envy in them. All is but an effect of equality.

And

And though it may ſeem, that as more the corrivall riſes, the more he is to be envied: ſo likewiſe, the more he falls, the more hee ſhould be pitied. Yet this may not be true, ſeeing compaſſion may peradventure faile, as well as envie: which when the corrivall is come to ſuch a pitch of greatneſſe, that he is quite beyond our reach, ſhame ceaſing, (which is onely in things poſſible) envie ceaſes likewiſe: So on the other ſide, when the corrivall is come to ſo low and unhappy a condition, that the other thinks it is impoſſible for him to fall ſo low; becauſe the fear ceaſing (which is not in things impoſſible) compaſſion likewiſe ceaſes. The ſame *Coriolanus*, whom the Senate compaſſionated in his miſeries, envied him in his proſperities. Peradventure the harſhneſſe of this pranke which he had plaid, together with his inbred valour; his having gotten forraigne aſſiſtance, and his forgetting the love which he bare to his Countrey, might give the Senate cauſe enough to feare, that if he returned, he would become a tyrant, and the people who had driven him away, becauſe hee ſhould not become one, now recalling him, did likewiſe make the world think, that being afraid of becoming a prey to the *Volſci*, they would accept of him.

The people, to the utmost of their powers, make choyce of subjecting themselves to their Countrey-man, rather than to a stranger; but the Senate will rather submit to the enemy, than to their corrivall: the different carriage of the Senate in this businesse, may also proceed from another cause. *Coriolanus* was valiant, free in speech, and surly; kinds of carriage which do not gain the love of the heart, though they overcome the understanding, & in a manner tyrannize over the wil, causing themselves to be followed, like the *Primum Mobile*, rather drawing along, than enticing, or alluring. This is no violent motion proceeding from Nature; neither can it be called voluntary, because knowledge doth not precede it. Man goeth along in this motion, not against, but without his will, not knowing wherefore he goeth. He delights not in being carried away, and yet suffers it; he doth not love, but admire that thing which ravishes him, and obediently followes it, as its commanding *genius*. Of this kinde of metall sometimes are favourites made, who by those as do not know this, are termed bewitchers. Men confess they know not the Devils cunning, and yet they will pretend to penetrate into the secrets of Nature. If they meet with any thing they doe not understand, they take away from one, to give to another; in one

place

place they pull down, and in the other they raise: they abase themselves by seeking to rise: they call that Witchcraft which is a Gift; as if Nature could not, as well as the Devill produce wonderfull things by Art in mixing actives with passives. This operation is mixed, as one should say, of violent, and of naturall, of voluntary and involuntary; and thence it comes that it produces effects mixt of pleasure and distast, of love and hate, with I know not what: of fear, accompanied with respect and admiration. The thing is beloved which ravisheth, and yet to be ravished, is hatefull. We delight in him alive, whom we could wish, had not been born. We are glad to have him neare, and yet should not be displeased to have him farre from us; we can neither keep him, nor put him away, for we are willing both to have him, and to be without him. He that will thrive with his Lord, through his secret qualities, let him conceale the manifest ones; if the *Genius* be commanding, let him make himself obedient. How should Ebony cure the French Disease, and Triacle the pestilent Fever, if their manifest qualities were not controlled? They would doe as much prejudice with their extrinsecall qualities, as they would doe good with their intrinsecall form. What good would it doe a Lord to see one lie at

his

his feet, who ſhould bee ſeated above his head? If the getting above him, whom fortune of birth hath made equall to us, bee one of the ſavourieſt dainties that humane ambition feeds upon, what will it bee to Lord it over them, to whom the nature of the *Genius* hath made us inferior. Whoſoever obſerves this Rule, ſhall not need to fear any thing, but ſome extraordinary great accident which may produce ſome extraordinary violence: but ſeldome can we goe againſt the *genius*: whence it comes, that ſome laſt alwaies, and others are ſuddenly overthrown. *Sejanus*, after he had gained *Tiberius* his underſtanding, with commanding qualities, won his heart with obeying ones. But whether it were his outward qualitie of flattering and obſequiouſneſſe, that moved him, or the inward qualitie of his ambition and *genius* that drew him to it, he could not conſtantly perſevere to the laſt. He made *Tiberius* for a while to ſtand in doubt, it ſeeming unto him that he did but ſtagger, at laſt finding no outward violence to overthrow him, he produced it in himſelf, going ſo far with his open qualities, that he took all power from the ſecret ones. Neither yet did *Tiberius* know how to free himſelfe; he deſired others ſhould doe it, ſometimes calling upon the Senators authority, and ſometimes ſecretly upon *Macro* his malice, as one that will

will and will not, or would and durſt not. The people of Rome endured the commanding *Genius* of *Coriolanus*. They loved him even at that time alſo, when ſuing for the Conſulſhip humble and mild, he controlled the manifeſt qualities of pride, and harſhneſſe, ſo hurtfull to him though deriving from him.

And though he by and by after returned to his owne nature, yet did not the people know how to free themſelves from him, being as it were bewitched to him; if the Tribunes violence, had not oppoſed it ſelfe to the Semi-violence of *Coriolanus* his imperious *Genius*.

The Senate which felt not the burthen of ſuch a kind of Character, becauſe it did not the prejudice of the manifeſt qualities which proceed from it: though it made uſe of him ſometimes for defence of the Cõmon-wealth againſt the enemies, ſometimes for their owne againſt the People, yet were they faine to make uſe of the Tribunes violence, to be well rid of him: And when he was driven away, they violently oppoſed the Tribunes, becauſe they ſhould not bring him in againe.

So much did this *Genius* prevaile when it was preſent, and loſe when it was abſent. He that ſubjects himſelfe to it, deſires not to be freed, nor returne into ſubjection, when he is free.

I know not how truely *Plutarch* guessed, when he considered of the Peoples love, and hatred, towards *Coriolanus* and *Alcibiades*: in his judgement there proceedings therein and usage of them was different. The ambition was the same, yet more tolerable in the Greeke, because profitable, more blame worthy in the Roman, because Prejudiciall. The former causing himselfe to be beloved, even when he did hurt, and the latter, gaining ill will, and being abhorred even when he did good.

The ends which move men to seeke the highest degrees of honour in their owne Country are many times different, and for the most part contrary. Some aspire thereunto for their owne proper interests, to make themselves eminent, and conspicuous above the rest. And some againe for no other end but for the good of their Country and to be able to do great matters in the behalfe of it. The one is alwayes a vice, and is termed ambition, the other, when it is not a vertue, may be called pride. The first aiming at a vicious end, it cannot seeme strange, if he proceeds towards it by such meanes; he flatters, bowes to the People, and vilifies himselfe to grow great, not refusing to doe any thing, be it never so base and servile, so it may but availe him towards

wards the obtaining of domination. The last raiseth not his fortune by any such meanes; vertue will not give way to it, nor Pride will not suffer him: *Cæsar*, and *Alcibiades* were of the first; *Cato* and *Coriolanus* may be numbred amongst the latter. And if *Plutarch* looking upon *Coriolanus* his actions with a Greeke eye, would not attribute unto him the name of magnanimous, and valiant: yet he might have termed him proud, but not ambitious.

From such different ends, proceeds a diverse manner of operating; from the diverse operation, are produced various effects, in the people, and in those to whom they are done.

Flattering bending, and humbling ones selfe, increases love in the People; and at the same time diminishes the conceit of him that does so; it detracts from his Majesty, and therewithall make him not so much to be admired. The people rejoyce at it, because it is for their profit: but though they desire those men should be so, whom they make choice of to love; yet they doe not desire them to be such whom they intend to reverence. So that when they will make choise of one to command them, they will chuse him rather whom they admire, then him they love. Doing of great actions with-

out

out flattering, or bowing to the people causes admiration in their breſt, it does not ſuffer a tender love to take roote in their hearts, but inſtead thereof it oftentimes breeds an awfull love in them; for as Majeſty cannot put on tenderneſſe without abaſing it ſelfe, ſo cannot a man put on Majeſty without altering himſelfe.

But theſe loves are too different. The one reſides in the concupiſcible, the other in the intelligible part. The one is towards his equall, and if he be not ſo, it makes him ſo, and requires mildneſſe. The other ſeems to be towards one's ſuperior, and requires majeſty.

The firſt hath the perſon for its aime, the ſecond his vertue. The tender love loſeth it ſelfe or diminiſheth, when the ſubject becomes Majeſticall; the awfull and reſpectfull love, when he comes to be low. The one eaſily turnes to contempt, the other many times is changed into hatred. How could the name of marriage pleaſe *Meſſalina* in *Silvius*, without the Empire, while ſhee could not enjoy him as a husband, unleſſe he became Emperour? Peradventure ſhee knew that the Majeſty of that degree would take away the Adulterers love, and change hers. That contempt would creep into *Silvius* his love, and reverence into hers; That ſhe

ſhe ſhould be obliged to reſpect, where ſhe onely loved, and change the tenderneſſe of affections, into obſequiouſneſſe of eſteeme. How could the Tribunes ſuſpect *Coriolanus* for tyranny, ſeeing he had quite loſt the Peoples hearts, by the harſhneſſe of the pranck he had plaid them; if they had not feared, he would have made himſelfe Maſter of their underſtandings by the greatneſſe of of operations? Who ſpoke more freely to the Tribes, and more ſharply rebuked them then our Saviour Chriſt, yet knowing that by vertue of the great miracles which he had wrought, he had bred in them an awfull and reſpectfull love, he goeth away, becauſe they ſhould not proclaime him King.

Thoſe who flatter the People, either are not at all called to command, if they bee, they doe not continue in it. He that attaines to it by a tender love, let him prepare ſtrong force to keepe himſelfe in, leſt contempt and repentance beat him out againe. Hee that is come to it through a reſpectfull love, may by the ſame maintain himſelfe in it. The people being once brought under obedience by the commanding *genius*, will commit no outrage, nor uſe any violence, unleſſe it be firſt uſed to them. *Alcibiades* exceeding eloquent, acceptable in the Peoples

ſight,

fight, being accused dares not appeare to defend himselfe. *Coriolanus* rough, and as unskilfull in all good arts, as hee was enemy to insinuations, hatefull to the People, appeares rather vaunting, then defending himselfe: resolved to make manifest the greatnesse of his mind and spirit rather then his innocency.

He distrusts the love of tendernesse that often uses to transforme it selfe into contempt, and confides in that respectfull love that admits not of contempt. He feares not hate, which is also compatible with such a kind of love; not that the being angry with a great vertue, totally excludes the reverencing of it, it floating lightly over any thing that is not pestilently produced by the grossenesse of ignorance or rancour of malice.

What would *Coriolanus* have had more? How came it that he did not know himselfe in the highest point of the Epicicle, when he shewed his fortune superior to Romes, and the altering of hers at his disposall; when he had seen his emulators at his feete and his enemies at his discretion: when hee had at the same time obtained the sweet taste of revenge; and the magnanimus honour of not having taken it? But this not knowing how to retreate is a thing as common to great

great subjects, as the desire it selfe of retyring.

In greatest motions they discourse of rest, and amidst most turbulent businesse of a vacancy. Therein doe they place their felicity, and it is in their hands to attaine to it, and yet they doe not. Peradventure they would retire with satisfaction, and beleeve they shall, and put it off till that time, and still there is something wanting, that they can never attaine to that satisfaction nor yet retiring; and being deceivers of themselves, live in continuall trouble and motion: injoying no other rest or peace, but a vaine hope, and Chimericall imagination that they shall enjoy it.

Sometimes againe it is neither deceit nor ignorance, but ought to be imputed to generosity of heart, and constancy of mind. If fortune, though never so great, cannot be given over with satisfaction, yet feare must at last make it be abandoned; and if to attaine unto it, is required, an enforced valour, an undaunted mind, a breast of steele; who can forsake it cowardly, that hath valiantly attained to it? He will pretend to be master of it, and will beleeve that it cannot change nor alter: He will imagine himselfe superior to it, and will not be daunted at it, though it do change.

He

he will beleeve it firme, and yet will bee glad to have it alter; not refuſing to avoid the diſguſt of a calm. to launch himſelf into a tempeſtuous ſea, chuſing rather to runne with hazard, than not to ſtirre at all: and will be willing to ſtruggle with contrary windes rather than ſee himſelfe abandoned by proſperous ones. Mans life is a Warfare, take combating from him, and you take away life; neither is that taken away, but changed, an internal enemy uſing to ſtep in, when an outward one failes, and a civill war commonly ſucceeding a forraigne one. But grant there be a great ſubject of ſo calm a minde, as will be content with the eſtate wherein he finds himſelfe, how will the content laſt, if the ſtate doth not? and how ſhall not the one change, if the other changes continually? Fortune hath no nail to fix it: if it doth not go forward, it muſt go backward. *Renown* hath a worm in its intrails, which never leaves gnawing: it is ſcarce born, but it begins to diminiſh: when flying it is once come to our notice, the mouth doth not ſpeed it away, as the eare receiyed it, we naturally add ſomwhat of our own to it, to the end, that it may gain as much going, as it loſes ſtanding ſtil: yet inwardly it diminiſhes, even as a man, who be he never ſo well fed in his youth, and ſeeming outwardly to grow, yet inwardly he every moment dies infallibly and remedileſs. The glory of man re-

mains amongſt us, when his carkaſs remains ſoul-leſſe: it extends further, 'tis true becauſe envy ceaſes but it diminiſhes in it ſelfe, becauſe compaſſion growes up, and afterwards contempt. A torrent, which in time of raine runs moſt violently & ſtately, bearing down trees by the rootes, and tearing up ſtones and rocks the sky being cleared up, is foordable by every paſſenger: his greatneſs is no more admired, his pride is, being ſo extream in him, who within a few houres was to be reduced to ſo wretched a condition: So the mighty man, after hee hath by valour won many battels taken Cities, overcome Nations, and filled the univerſe with the report of his glory, when *Atropos* cuts off the thred of his life, inſtead of obtaining praiſe, he ſtirs up admiration, men wondring how ſo much vanity and pride ſhould reigne in a body, which would ſhortly become the putrified food of ſtinking wormes. As if the whole world could not have contained that body, which within a ſmall time was to be incloſed within a few palms of the baſeſt element.

Envy followes humane glory, it ſhews where it is it doth not leave it til it is not, it devours him that feedes it, and feedes him whom it would deſtroy. It increaſes and diminiſhes not at that ſweetneſſe which ſhould produce ſatiety, adding acrimony to it, which revives the appetite.

The

The glory of the dead runnes; but coldly. It remaines in the world, but withered, and wanting novelty, is not looked upon by reason of its oldnesse. Death gives a great blow, but the civill death gives the greater; it doth not utterly extinguish envy as the naturall doeth; nor doth not like it counterpoise that which it takes away, with the sense which it hath taken away. No marvaile then, if others avoid retiring, because they will not strive with it.

Death cannot stay and naile fast fortunes wheele from descending, yet it stayes it that it may not precipitate. And seeing it very seldome lasts a mans age; happy is that man that lasts but fortunes time. And because the time of the one is not measured, and the others life is onely looked after, we sometimes complaine of death for pulling up of that green, when we should thanke it, for gathering it when it is ripe. It is favourable to him whom it cuts off, when hee is growen up into a high degree, and but newly arrived to it. It makes him to bee imagined of infinite vertue, because it hath not bin measured, nor the end of it seene. It attributes unto him the glory of that which he hath not yet done, when peradventure he would have lost that which hee had already gotten.

Death

Death which is one to all men, is not equally favourable to all, ſhe cuts off one before he is ripe, ſhe lets the other hang till he falls off rotten; and gathers but few in the flower of their ripeneſſe. It is a great fortune to dye, when fortune is at higheſt. One cannot long ſtand at a ſtay, it is impoſſible to advance, and to decreaſe is of neceſſity. He that cannot receive this favour from the originall, let him ſeeke it from the copy, and he that cannot die, let him retire, for any thing is better then to precipitate.

If the *Summum bonum* of the body Politick were as manifeſt as that of the humane, and that we did know as well what fortune requires, as we know what nature deſires; wee might when wee come to ſuch a ſtate leave for a time, and returne to take it againe, but knowing neither of both, few yeild, *when, what and ſo much*, as they ſhould yeild. It ſeemed to a fortunate man, to be come to the height of happineſſe and to ſuch a pitch, that he was to fear a downfal. To avoid it, he throwes a moſt precious gemme into the Sea. Ere long it was brought to his Table againe in a Fiſhes belly; fortune returned him that which hee had given her, becauſe it was not that which ſhe would have had; he joyfully receives it againe, and takes that for a favour which

which ſhould have ſerved him for an inſtruction.

Coriolanus that could not leave his fortune, left his life: this happens for the moſt part to ſtrangers, that have bin called, or of themſelves have crept up to the higheſt eminencies of a Common-wealth. The moſt valiant have loſt their lives, the weakeſt have bin baniſhed; If there is in a Common-wealth an eminent Citizen, as *Tullus* was amongſt the *Volſci*, when *Coriolanus* came in amongſt them; as *Agis* was in *Sparta* when *Alcibiades* came thither, as the Prince of *Orange* was in Holland, when the Archduke *Matthias*, the Duke of *Alencon*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* were called in there. Either they come in of themſelves, by promiſing of ſome great matters; and if they come off of their engagement well, they are ſent away with admiration, if ill, with diſgrace.

Where they are brought in, they ſend them away too. If it were in caſe of neceſſity, when that is paſt, if it were to deceive any one, after that was performed: if to be deceived, when they were undeceived. When there is not in the Common-wealth any one Citizen more eminent then the reſt, and in reſpect of domeſtick diſcords, they call in ſome noble man of great bloud to

governe

governe them, or in regard of forraigne warres, they ſend for ſome eminent Souldiour to command them; let this man either prepare himſelfe to be nothing at all our Lord and Maſter, or an exile: and becauſe there are none that will be nothing, it being repugnant to an ambitious nature, and it being a hard matter to become Lord, being men greater in repute, then power, hee muſt expect either from jealouſie, baniſhment, or from feare, death. But if ſtrangers be eaſilie driven away, they are alſo as eaſily called in; for the opinion which fortune frames in abſence and farre off, is greater then that which one being preſent doth frame of himſelfe, bearing along with it the greatneſſe of the actions, without the abjectneſſe of the matter. Becauſe their object is more pure conceived by meanes of the eare, then by meanes of the eye; that which is heard, then that which is ſeene. For a mans actions repreſented by fame all at once, leave a kind of aſtoniſhment, whereas the other, being ſeen one by one, languiſh, the ſecond being ſcarce come forth before the other be either dead or mortified.

Becauſe the Cittizen diſcovers the defects in his youthfull age, which defects leave behind them, if not a wound, yet at leaſt a

ſcarre; from which thing the ſtranger is free, who onely manifeſts and diſcovers himſelfe in that which is perfect; Becauſe envy hath no place in the former, nor admiration in the latter.

Finally, it is peradventure with a truer and more ordinary, though a more concealed, and deep reaſon, for the naturall inſtinct of hoping for greater remedy in our affaires, from the greater difficulty in attaining to it, following therein nature it ſelfe, which hath moſt concealed, and made leſſe ſtore of thoſe things which are moſt precious, and given moſt glory to the hardeſt atchievements.

As for example, there growes an herbe at our very foot, and a man ſtands cloſe by us, the herbes are medicinall, and the man able to heale us, and defend us: Yet wee will ſeeke for ſuch in remote countries, as if all our good conſiſted rather in the difficulty of obtaining, then in the quality of things: nature having imprinted in us, the *genius* of deſpiſing what is obvious & known, to beleeve that which is moſt obſcure, to hope for that which is moſt difficult, to admire that which is furtheſt off, to make all that is great, difficult to us, either becauſe it hath made it ſo, or becauſe we make it ſo to our ſelves.

Under a Prince it is not impoſſible, but it

it seldome happens, that a stranger shoud arrive to a chiefe degree of honour, unlesse the Prince be a Tyrant; or that he should continue there, unlesse the Prince become one. With the losse of life he concludes his being a favorite, if he doth not maintaine himselfe in it by multiplying of banishments, and slaughters.

But if the Prince be a Tyrant, such a one may often arrive to it, because the Tyrant feares the Citizens, and the favourite may continue, because the other makes him to be feared.

Finally, *Tullus* through Jealousie, Malice, and hatred born to *Coriolanus* his vertue, under pretence that hee had not prosecuted his enterprise to the destruction of his country, caused him to be murthered by a conspiracy of some who were his adherents.

A mans Country hath in it a retentive quality for such as are borne in it, and an attractive one, for such as are travailed out of it. This consists in the pleasure and delight which the providence of Nature alwayes communicates to needfull things, and also in the aire, the temperament, the influences, in the vertue, which the place affoorded to the thing which is placed in it, and peradventure in a mans being used and accustomed thereunto, as much as in any thing else.

The efficacy and force of this laſt being full of contrarieties, is hard to underſtand, and unfold. Sometime you ſhall heare the Philoſophers ſay, that the underſtanding dejects and dulls it ſelfe in a knowen thing, and greedily turnes to a new one. Sometimes you ſhall ſee an opinion laid hold of, which will not be left to turne to any other, although it be new.

The ſenſe of taſting is tried with aſſuefaction, and deſires change of food. The ſame happineſſe in the ſenſe of feeling; and likewiſe in the ſenſe of ſmelling. The ſenſe of ſeeing will ſeeme to be glutted with the ſight of a thing, and another which is not ſo beautifull, will ſeeme fairer to it, becauſe it is new. Sometimes a man being accuſtomed to one manner of cloathing, will hardly be brought to another faſhion, but it will ſeeme ridiculous to him, and ſometimes alſo he will change for it, as for a better. In morall things one ſhunnes (God a mercy cuſtome) that as a vice, which another embraces as a vertue.

It is hard to finde out any thing that will make a man love his own deſtruction. Hence growes the deteſtation of a contrary, though it have novelty to take its part. The underſtanding flies towards it, becauſe its object is not onely truth, but all truths, and

and as ſuch it turns to it: if it findes it contrary, it turns from it as falſe, and as from an enemy. In faſhions of Cloathes, the ſight will not endure a faſhion much diſcrepant from the wonted and accuſtomed one, and the faſhions altering daily, the change is not very ſenſible; whereby a man comes to bee ſatisfied and perſwaded by the novelty, without hitting upon (unleſſe it be in a very long time) the contrary, which he would abhorre. The taſte feeds upon food, which in the beginning is unlike, but in the end ſemblable: the long uſe of it, makes the body like unto it, and conſequently diminiſhes the delight, ſeeing the appetite would have the unlike: but yet you ſhall not ſee it for all this, runne to that which is quite and immediatly contrary. Aſſuefaction alſo likewiſe makes a great difference in the ſenſes, namely, where they are meerly ſpiritall, or any way materiall: for this helps ſatiety, and diminiſhes the taſte, which may manifeſtly be perceived in the ſelf-ſame beauty, ſometimes ſeen, and ſometimes enjoyed.

All the love Nature hath put in man towards his native Countrey, cannot hinder him from being drawn out of it either by neceſſity, intereſt, or ambition, or any other powerfull motive. And truly, as for a mans health, when all other remedies faile, they

use change of aire; so for an averse Fortune, it is good to change the Climate: The aire nurses the spirits, and with them (I had almost sayd) changes the understanding, because it alters its chiefe Instruments. Food causes a new temperament, and therewith new behaviours. The Climate changes the Influences, these the Inclinations, and all altered together, make an alteration of Fortune. Many goe without it, because they will not follow it, and many because they cannot finde it, forsaking sometimes that vocation in which they had it, and sometimes not discerning the true place where they might have attained to it. Most part are of opinion, that travell makes many worthy men: I see the effect of it, but cannot as yet discern whether it be a cause, or a signe and token of their worth. A cause, if by reason that one seeing himselfe destitute of many meanes, is forced to make use of his own vertue, which restrained betweene contraries, increases the more. A signe, if to overcome the many allurements of ones native soile, and forsake it, is required a great spirit, a valiant and magnanimous heart, whereby a man may come to attaine to eminent glory.

I believe there are but few so wicked, as to become enemies of their Country, though they

they may be enemies to those who prevaile therein, and govern it. But seeing the Inhabitants are those who make a Citie, & not the Walls, he that is an enemy to them, seemes, if not directly, yet indirectly, to bee an enemy to his Country. By this device of believing that the hatred which one beares to the Prince, or Magistrate that governes, or to a predominant faction, is hating of the Country it selfe, or the Citie, many forraigne Princes, and Common-wealths have suffered themselves to be deceived; who should first attentively have cõsidered the causes & motives of those who have perswaded them to commence warre against their own Country; assuring them, that whensoever those men have satisfied their own passions, they will forsake them. Many may be the causes which move a Country-man, or Citizen, to such disturbances; whereof desire of revenge is none of the least, when he becomes obliged thereunto by some great matters, which do breed hatred all at once, as it useth to be against the cruelty, avarice, and luxury of the Prince, when the subjects are prejudiced in their lives, goods, and reputations. If the shame or dammage meet with a stout and valiant spirit, it will never be appeased without revenge: And it is good fortune when hee findes

findes things in such a condition, that hee may accomplish his intention with a conspiracy, by killing or expelling the Tyrant, which many times may prove to bee rather for the good then hurt of his Countrey. As when *Brutus* expelled the *Tarquines* for the rape of *Lucrece*, and *Lucius Virginius* procured the death of *Appius Claudius*, for defiling his daughter. For if these mens way be obstructed, that they cannot come to worke their revenge themselves, they study how to make use of some others power: whence come the ruines not onely of Princes, but also of whole States and Monarchies. So passed the *Medes* Monarchy to the *Persians*, when *Arpagus* having no other meanes to revenge himselfe of *Astiages*, did set his Grand-childe against him. A Prince may therefore securely take their parts who rise against their own Countrey, by reason of an irreconciliable hatred which they beare him that governes.

Ambition and Interest are likewise principall causes for men to bring in forraigne forces against their own Countrey, differing from hatred, because they are moved rather for some good to themselves, than for any prejudice to others. These causes incited many persons in the revolutions of *France*, sometimes to returne to the places

whence they had been driveh, ſometimes to obtain dignities, ſometime to recover thoſe which they had loſt. If the Countrey alſo be in Armes, the conqueſt of it will hardly be obtained, if they will not have ſtrangers become Lords thereof converting the fruits of the victory to the welfare of the diſcontented, changing but one enemy for another: the Princes being ſo by reaſon of the eſtate which they poſſeſſe, and they become ſuch that conquer it. The *Guiſes* whileſt they thought they might adorne their Temples with the Crown of *France*, never forſooke the Catholick Kings ſide; and as ſoone as they found the contrary, they forſooke him. Great are the hopes which diſcontented perſons conceive, and their maintainers: and thoſe hopes being divers, if not contrary, and hard to be concealed, quickly bring forth diſtaſtes: They goe on increaſing in the diſcontented theſe and by the ſame degrees they abate in the enemy, who ſeekes to appeaſe the diſcontented with cunning & fair promiſes, the buſines ſerving them (if for no other end) to cauſe diſtruſts, which bring the ſubjects out of their reſolutions into perplexities. Perplexitie breeds ſuſpition, ſuſpition new diſtaſtes, and diſtaſtes breaches. Where jealouſies once take root, we muſt not hope for any proceedings: the weakeſt doe not ſo

much wish for, as feare victories, and desire rather to obstruct than promote them. It sufficeth not that thou promise them that they shall have whatsoever shall be gained, if so be it must rest in their courtesie to give it: because in matters of State, none will trust to mens wills, if they be not obliged by force, or perswaded by some intereſt.

There are some cases, in which it is convenient to be content with the losse which is received by the warres, and leave all the profit to ones friend. As when he settles him into his Countrey, with change of forme, seeing it may be hoped, that his friendship is sincere in him who is so setled, because he is to be maintained in it against those who governed formerly. True it is, that the memory of that benefit, and therewithall the sincerity of the friendship, will last until such time as they can finde meanes to secure themselves, without having need of his assistance. Then the least present intereſt cancels all former obligations. it seeming to many, that even benefits suffer prescription by the length of time; and being once grown old, do no longer bind to gratitude. The *Spanish* Monarchy hath more than once had experience of this misfortune, yet such a customie ought not to be left off, whensoever occasion shall present it selfe: Seeing the

Politician

Politician ought not to looke after eternity but many times be content with that, which profiteth him but for a time, and onely for the present, so it doe not bring any prejudice for the future along with it.

To divide a kingdome amongst discontented persons, whose power may afterward be feared, seemes to secure the firmnesse of of the side, and quietnesse of the State: but if he meet with subtile and witty subjects, that will not be dallied with by fallacies of the present, they will know well enough, that those who have been able to divide a kingdome when it was entire, can subdue it when it is divided. *Philip* the second was blamed because he did not take this course: but the wisdome of those of the house of *Guise*, was not easily deceived with slights, nor could they be appeased with a part. Those eminent and valiant subjects knowing well enough that they could not cancell the name of disturbers of their countries peace with any other name, but the name of King.

There are likewise sometimes such extreamly turbulent braines, that without any instigation of hatred, wrath, interest or ambition, have an irregulate desire of troubles and innovations: Enemies to whatsoever is, alwayes contriving against the present government

vernment, in behalfe of changes. Kingdoms yeeld more ſuch ſpirits then Common-wealths: for he that goes about to prejudice liberty, thinkes hee goes againſt his owne Countrey; and hee that ſeekes to ruine a kingdom, imagines he goes againſt anothers Such a one was that *Iulian* who brought the *Moores* into *Spain*. The occaſion which he pretended for the rape of his daughter, was already paſt, and he did this but onely out of a meere and ſudden deſire of innovation which made him haſten to it on ſo faſt. He that is called in by ſuch kinde of men, may be ſure he ſhall not be abandoned, nor forſaken.

Factions are alſo cauſes of bringing in ſtrangers into a country, whether they ſtrive one againſt another for the Government, or being both under one government, are onely at odds amongſt themſelves; That ſide which ſees it ſelfe oppreſſed, preſently calls in the ſtranger, to raiſe it ſelfe over its corrivall, and be revenged. They are both good occaſions for thee to undertake, one with more ſecurity, and the other with more profit, becauſe the latter cals thee in to make thee Lord, and the former that thou mighteſt make him Lord.

There is another kind of faction in Kingdomes, Cities, or Provinces which is an enemy

enemy to those who are in authority, because it was obliged to those who formerly had the government, and this ises to bee where the Government hath bin altered: as it was for a long time seen in Naples, betweene the Arragonian and Angiovin faction; And in this case he that is called in, may bee more confident then in any other: especially if he have but any Chimericall conjunction or affinity with those that were once Lords there.

To take away the priviledges of a Country, gives occasion to call in strangers, not with an intent to make them Lords, but onely to have their assistance in framing their Common-wealth, as the Low-Countries did making use of Germanes, French, and English, and driving away all those whom they thought might any way aspire to principality.

If you assist such to free them from their Lords, you need not fear that they will forsake you, but if you should pretend to rule over them your self, you would find a hard taske of it, unlesse their rebellion did proceed from hatred, to which choler being joyned, there growes such a rage in the People, as causeth unadvised operations, wherein they proceed so farre, before reason steps in, that they find themselves so

deeply

deeply ingaged, that they cannot give back, but are forced to follow as they begun for feare of ruining: and expose themselves to any condition, though it be farre worse then their first, to it be not that which they had freed themselves from. With these one must be quick, and make sure worke, before they returne to their right understandings.

There be also two wayes to help strangers, when they are called in; the one is with forces, and that gives way to repentance: the other no way admitteth of any. Of the first wee have spoken already: the second is, when the state hath some secret weaknesse, by meanes whereof it may be conquered; or when the preservation of it consists in some strong hold: and in this case there will be traitors found, interest may and will produce them; as also a sodaine wrath or disdaine, wherein evill may be done in an instant, is able to make him become a Traytor, who never had an intent to bee one, because that hurried on by a sodaine and violent passion, rather then by any premeditated will, he will past all remedy, the attempt consisting in an action so swift, and mortall, that it may be performed at the very first dash, and being once performed it brings sodaine ruine, which admits of no repentance.

Alcibiades

Alcibiades provoked against the Athenians, teaches the Sparrans how they should fortifie the City of *Decelea* with walls, and put a garrison into it, if the ruine of his Country had consisted wholly in that, as it did in part, it had bin ruined, and yet that first rage and violence of wrath being abated, when *Tisaphernes* would have destroyed it, he would not permit it. *Coriolanus* in his fury leads on the *Volsci* to the destruction of Rome: his fury being allayed, he desists.

These repentings happen under Common-wealths sooner then under Kings, as well because the Country (as we said before) is judged as alien in a princely government, as also by reason that in a Common-wealth a subject seldome receives disgust from a whole City. Where there be factions of Nobles and *Plebeians*, the one is alway in his favour, and by him affected, which will not suffer him to run precipitously to revenge.

For this cause did peradventure *Coriolanus*, more then in pity of his Mothers teares, abãdon the thoughts of ruining his country. A stranger can repose but little confidence in such manner of subjects, if he doth not meane to give them the command, nay (I may so say) not if he would doe it, as may be

be ſeene in *Alcibiades*, *Themiſtocles*, and *Coriolanus*.

When I attentively conſider the faſhions and carriage of *Coriolanus*, I find them to be not much unlike *Catoes*, and worthy of greater glory: in as much as this laſt quite overthrew the Common-wealth, when peradventure he might in part have ſaved it, the other bore it up, when it lay in his hand to deſtroy it. Inflexibility or peradventure cruelty; Freedome of ſpeech, or malice; Conſtancy in operating or peradventure obſtinacy, Contempt of wealth and glory, or it may bee hypocriſie; Greatneſſe of mind, in not bowing to the People, or peradventure pride, Love of liberty, which might be hatred of the Tyrant, or envy, theſe were the vertues ſo much commended in *Cato*, and I find them almoſt all in *Coriolanus*, and valour in a more ſublime degree joyned to them. *Cato* had an intent to defend the Common-wealth from the power of one man alone; *Coriolanus* from all mens. It was juſt in both, and peradventure the cauſe equall, but not equally beſeeming.

The one would have a decrepit man grow young againe; The other would not have a young man grow decrepit. In *Catoes* time the Common-wealth was totall perverted, con-

confounded, and full of discord, so farre from its ancient institution, that it was impossible to bring it to it againe. *In Coriolanus* dayes it was not farre digressed from its ancient customes, and might easily have bin reduced to them againe.

In the formers time the wisest men were of opinion that the onely cure of the common-wealth was to reduce it into one mans hand. In the latters, that the best remedy was to keep it out of the hands of the people, that it might not perish. They both lost the Consulship, because they would not flatter; *Cæsar* causes hands to be laid upon *Cato*, to carry him to prison, and for shame will not suffer him to be brought thither. *Sicinius* the Tribune takes hold of *Coriolanus* with intent to cast him downe headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, and repenting, forceases, *Coriolanus* is banished, *Cato* exiles himselfe: *Cato* joynes with *Pompey*, more for rage, & in hatred to *Cæsar*, than being perswaded thereunto by the love of his country, or zeale of the Common-wealth, which he well knew would bee the Conquerours prey; and most to be lamented, if it became his, who was the more cautelous and concealed, and peradventure the worser man. What wonder is it then, if *Coriolanus* likewise enraged against the people,

from seeing

seeing the Senate vilified, & finding no Pompey to side with, joynes with *Tullus*: They exalt their own Citizens, the one with Romanes, the other with *Volscians*: *Cato* is overcome, *Coriolanus* conquers. If the other had been victorious, it had not much strengthened the Comman-wealth, neither did it lose it selfe, because this overcame. If the Nobility had followed *Coriolanus*, as it did *Cato*, either he had returned into *Rome* victorious, and established a better form of Government; or being conquered, had left a more lasting Government behinde him. *Cato* dies, because hee could not make the Citie free. *Coriolanus*, because hee would not bring it under subjection.

If any man wonders that I should compare *Coriolanus* to *Cato*, let him in the first place, and much more admire, that *Plutarch* should compare him to *Alcibiades*, the one was altogether effeminate, the other manly. The Greek soft, and tender with *Socrates* education, savoured of a Schoole. The Roman harsh, and hardened, brought up in the camp, was composed of nothing but warre. The first was ambitious, the last proud. One severely flattered the people, the other free, opposed them. *Alcibiades* framed himselfe to all mens fashions, *Coriolanus* intended to frame every one to his humors

mors. One was beautifull, eloquent, and subtle; with his beauty, allured, with his eloquence perswaded, and with his subtilty deceived. The other sterne in aspect, rough in speech, single in heart, allured not, perswaded not, nor did not deceive. *Alcibiades* loses himselfe like a vaine man; *Coriolanus* like a solid. In their banishments, and in their deaths, wherein they seemed to bee most like one another, they were contrary. They were both exiled, it is true, but one, because he would alter the forme of the Common-wealth, the other, because hee would not have it altered. They were both kill'd, I confesse it, but *Alcibiades* for hatred of his vices, *Coriolanus* for envy of his vertues.

The

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The

The Translator to the Reader.

HAving this void Page left, I thought good to set down therein this briefe explanation of the word Ostraciſme, which thou ſhalt finde in ſeverall places of it. The Greek word Ὀστρακισμὸς, is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀστράκου, which ſignifies ſhells: For the Athenians intended to put it in uſe, the Citizens at the leaſt to the number of ſix thouſand (for otherwiſe it was no lawfull nor full Aſſembly) at a day appointed, brought every man a ſhell, whereon was written the name of him, whom he would have baniſhed, and threw it into a place prepared for that purpoſe: And the Magiſtrates telling the ſaid ſhells, he whoſe name was found written upon moſt of them, was proclaimed baniſhed for ten yeares. Vale.

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